policy REVIEW

Spring 1985 Number 32 Four Dollars

Abortion And Infanticide: Is There A Difference?
David Cannon

Brave New Hemisphere
Adam Meyerson

Sun Myung Moon's Planet
Dinesh D'Souza

Fiction's Sex Offenders
Judith Chettle

The Worst Regulations in America
Doug Bandow

Lessons of Indochina

Censorship on Campus

Why Crime is Falling

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How do we get out of this mess?

Whose job is it to streamline a bloated, wasteful federal government? J. Peter Grace, who headed the President's Private Sector Survey on Cost Control, believes a large part of the task belongs to Congress.

In a book called *Burning Money,* based on the survey's findings, Mr. Grace paints a vivid picture of government waste and inefficiency. And he also points out that much of the cure hinges on congressional action—especially since Congress causes much of the problem in the first place. Consider these examples from the Grace book:

- Of the 4,000 military installations in the United States, only some 300 are considered significant. Yet, Congress continues to block the closing of unnecessary bases, even though eliminating them would cut defense spending by $2 billion a year. (Senator Barry Goldwater, chairman of the Armed Services Committee, said that closing only 10 bases would save around $1 billion a year.)
- More than a third of the post offices in America—12,469 of them—serve 100 customers or fewer. Replacing some 7,000 of these with cheaper alternatives—like walk-up postal windows in some hotels, for example—could provide the same services and save $272 million over three years. But Congress hasn't done so.
- Sixty-three government weather service offices are regarded as unnecessary, yet in 1983 Congress rejected a move to close them, despite a potential savings of about $4 million a year.
- Since 1825, a time of isolated military outposts in the western wilderness, the military has maintained a system of commissaries so its personnel and their families could shop for necessities (and luxuries) without dangerous, time-consuming treks to the nearest towns. Today, there are 238 military commissaries in the continental United States. Washington, D.C., must surely be an isolated outpost since it has six. San Francisco and San Antonio have five each; San Diego and Norfolk, Virginia, have four. They're subsidized to the tune of more than $750 million a year, and despite the fact that each commissary has to justify its continued existence every three years, Congress has yet to close one.

The reason for such congressional largess isn't hard to fathom. Congressmen and senators are elected from a single district or state; their major concerns are local ones. Close a military base or a post office, or a weather station, and the area around it suffers economically, through the loss of jobs and payrolls. So whether or not such installations serve the national good, they remain open because congressmen and senators have to face the voters at election time.

But if Congress won't end the wasteful spending, who will? One remedy would be a line-item veto, giving the President (elected by all the people) the right to delete certain expenditures without vetoing an entire appropriations bill. But such a measure will itself have to originate in the Congress. So ultimately, the job of reform is ours, the citizens. We elect the Congress, and we pay for federal waste. Shouldn't we send Congress the message that America no longer has money to burn?

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LETTERS

Edward Teller, Lawrence Eagleburger, Richard Garwin, George Keyworth, Mark Fowler, E.S. Savas, Gordon Jones, Gordon Tullock, John Lofton, Gara LaMarche, John LeBoutillier

The Case for Space

Dear Sir:

The development and production of modern arms have become an amazingly complicated branch of high technology, and defensive arms seem to require even greater ingenuity. In his recent, otherwise well-reasoned article ("The Case for Strategic Defense," Winter 1985), Lewis Lehrman has slighted the most necessary element in the development of protective defense—ingenuity.

Perfect defense is impossible because it requires perfect ingenuity. However, an increasing number of inventions will yield a steadily improving approach. Therefore, the fact that not all talent resides in the United States has real pertinence to the issue of defensive weapons.

The concept of "Fortress America" is nonsensical. Our commitment to freedom—wherever it exists—is essential to the survival of freedom. But it is also important to note that the development of real defense is unlikely to succeed without the talented assistance that can be offered by our allies in Europe and Japan. I suspect that freedom cannot survive unless there is a joint effort for the development of weapons directed against the instruments of aggression in the very act of attack.

There is no urgent need to share information about defensive weapons systems with the Russians. Indeed, at this point, they are ahead of us. However I am concerned that information about defensive weapons be shared with our allies so that the joint intelligence and technical labor of free scientists can be brought to bear on this problem. Such cooperation could produce results that cannot be surpassed.

The great decisions for ourselves and our allies are still in the making. The question is: shall we do as much to prevent war through defense as we did through a variety of heroic measures in the 1940s to save freedom? Hindsight distorted by a satisfactory outcome leads many people to forget that those measures came almost too late.

To my mind, there is no question about the correct decision. The essential ingredients of the solution are available. What is needed is the determination of free scientists and technologists jointly to develop the means to make peace more secure.

Edward Teller
Hoover Institution on War,
Revolution and Peace
Stanford, CA

Dear Sir:

Lewis Lehrman's "The Case for Strategic Defense" is a frustrating piece. I like his conclusion that we should get on with the building of a strategic defense capability; the intellectual process that gets him there I like less.

The right's constant refrain—which Mr. Lehrman echos—that SALT I is the functional equivalent of the plague, and that most of our difficulties with the Soviets derive from that misbegotten effort, is baloney. This is not the place to analyze a decade and more of history; but is it not possible that our difficulties with the Soviets derive from Vietnam, Watergate, inadequate defense budgets, inattention to the maintenance of our nuclear deterrent, failure to respond to Soviet adventurism (starting with Angola), and a general lack of a coherent foreign policy—all of which President Reagan has tried hard to correct—rather than poor old SALT I?

I claim no expertise in arms control theology; in fact I find much of it boring. While SLBMs, ICBMs, MAD, ABM, first strike, etc., may cause a racing pulse for some, for me they tend to lead to a glazing of the eyes. So, when people (including Mr. Lehrman) tell me a strategic

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defense system will be 80 to 90 percent effective, I can hope they are right, but I would not want to bet my last dollar on it. As we have already seen, the Gang of Four can make the contrary case.

But so what? What if such a system were only 50 percent effective? The Soviet leadership would surely be less likely to initiate a nuclear attack if it believed that 50 percent of its missiles would never find their targets, and that it could not predict where the remainder would land.

Although a doctrine that has prevented war for almost 40 years can hardly be called immoral, I have sympathy with Mr. Lehrman's argument that strategic defense would move us toward a more "moral" war doctrine than we now have. We should not lightly move away from a doctrine that has deterred attack for so long, but neither should we assume it will remain viable for another four decades. How much longer the American people are going to accept the view that the preservation of peace between the superpowers can only be assured by a readiness to destroy millions, with the piling of one new offensive nuclear system on top of another, is problematical.

While I don't put much stock in theology, I do have a healthy respect for a sense of history. And history tells me that there is little reason to believe that nations will forever foreswear the development of weapons to defend against nuclear attack, or the use of outer space as a place from which to launch such weapons. We can delay the process, but I do not believe we can prevent it. In this complicated nuclear age, we have tried to repeal the laws of nature, but as the current debate demonstrates, we have about run out that string.

Certainly the strategic defense concept is still far from a sure thing. Research and development may prove it is more expensive and less effective than either Mr. Lehrman or I believe it to be. And even if it proves feasible, history ought also to teach us that technology and human ingenuity will, over time, find ways to overcome the advantages that a strategic defense will provide. So let us not make the mistake of believing the strategic defense initiative (SDI) can change the nuclear equation for all time. And let us hope that future generations, should a strategic defense system be deployed, will not, as the French did in 1940, put too much faith in this new Maginot line only to find it outflanked by an imaginative and deadly enemy.

for to do less would be to weaken deterrence rather than strengthen it.

Lawrence S. Eagleburger
President
Kissinger Associates
New York, NY
[The author was Undersecretary for Political Affairs at the Department of State from 1981 to 1984].

We should not lightly move away from a doctrine that has deterred attack for so long, but neither should we assume it will remain viable for another four decades.

Lawrence S. Eagleburger

Dear Sir:

Rarely have the words of a popular president been ignored like those of President Reagan's call for a means to "render nuclear weapons impotent and obsolete." In his speech of March 1983, the President was serene about the effectiveness of deterring nuclear war by threat of retaliation, but asked in the long run for a morally preferable posture of *defense,* it if could be achieved.

Studies done for the government after the President's speech hold little hope that the Soviet threat to U.S. survival can be eliminated by defense, and certainly none that our own retaliatory ("offensive") ICBMs or submarine-launched ballistic missiles (SLBMs) can be abandoned. The President's strategic defense initiative, however, is firmly committed to obtaining the option of a capability for defense against Soviet ballistic missiles to *strengthen* deterrence, not to replace it. That is a moral goal, in my opinion, but it is not the President's. In his words of December 1984, he wants to "destroy missiles, not to defend them."

In "The Case For Strategic Defense," Lewis Lehrman joins the orchestra of voices playing the tune of the year—"Strategic Defense—I Can't Live Without You." But since it is a strategic defense for all of us,

Mr. Lehrman too easily passes over the consequences of a U.S. departure from the ABM treaty. I am not arguing that, if research and development of the strategic defense concept show it to be feasible, we should not take such a step. But to believe that such an act would be taken lightly by allies or enemies would be highly unwise.

And finally, to develop a strategic defense without bringing our European allies into the closest possible cooperation *from the outset* would, in my view, be terribly foolish. I do not argue that our allies should be given a veto over whether we proceed; if we give them that opportunity the project will be stillborn. But to go ahead with the development of a defensive system that would protect us while leaving our allies apparently at the mercy of Soviet intermediate range nuclear missiles would be the ultimate in "decoupling," and therefore highly destabilizing. Under such circumstances, no one, including Americans, would believe that our commitment to defend Europe was worth much. Thus, we need to decide *now* that the SDI will, if carried through, be deployed as a defensive shield for ourselves and our allies, and research and planning should be directed to that end. Our objective should be a defensive system that strengthens our alliance ties,

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we had better test whether the virtues of this beloved are as well developed as the author maintains, and whether there are serious vices.

The SDI begins with a $26 billion program of research and development which, if successful, will bring knowledge—not defense. Another five years of research costing perhaps $50 billion is to bring us to a point where a decision could be made whether to begin to develop and build a system of defense against ballistic missiles. According to former secretaries of defense Harold Brown and James R. Schlesinger, that would probably cost $1 trillion and could still not serve to replace our offensive weapons.

"To be sure, there would remain the dread contingency of a massive attack," according to Mr. Lehrman. But he claims his defense "would largely banish the fears of a nuclear war occasioned by other than a deliberate all-out attack." Let's see how effective the defense might be and how necessary against these lesser attacks.

Three goals are advanced for limited defense:

1. Prevent the destruction of our retaliatory force.

This nightmare of mutually vulnerable MIRVed ICBMs is an argument to avoid at all costs the total dependence on MIRVed ICBMs, and we have, for this reason, thoughtfully provided ourselves at very great cost with many more retaliatory warheads in our Poseidon and Trident SLBMs than we have in our land-based force—not vulnerable to Soviet missiles. According to experts who have worked for 20 years with the U.S. submarine security and anti-submarine warfare efforts, our strategic submarines are becoming *less* vulnerable with time. Defense of the missile fields is one feasible option for eliminating total vulnerability of the ICBM force, but President Reagan's Commission on Strategic Forces, looking at *all* options, not just strategic defense, a year after the President's speech, did not advise moving in that direction. They recommended continuing to avoid the dread scenario over the long run by building single-warhead missiles for land (Midgetmen) and smaller submarines at sea.

2. Protect the US against accidental launch of "several Soviet ICBMs."

Why wait until we can develop and install defenses? We and the Soviet Union could sooner and more cheaply cooperate to counter accidental launch by installing the command-destruct radio receivers in our operational missiles that we have in test firings; any Soviet missile accidentally launched would be destroyed by the Soviet government or by U.S. radio link transmitting the coded destruct command given us by the Soviet Union over the hot line.

3. "Guard against terrorist acts."

Far more widely available and cheaper than terrorist ICBMs are aircraft or trucks as means of attack, and a serious effort at protection should start with the greater threat. The U.S. would surely know of a "terrorist ICBM," and if covert action is ever justified, it is in this case.

The "New Shield of the Republic" looks more like a costly and fragile emblem than an effective defense. These defense dollars—and the scarcer dollars for research and development—are urgently needed to improve U.S. and allied conventional forces.

Richard L. Garwin
Adjunct Professor of Physics
Columbia University
New York, NY

[The author is a physicist and consultant to the U.S. government on defense and security technology and policy].

Dear Sir:

Lew Lehrman's article "The Case for Strategic Defense" defines the essence of the President's concern. We *must* find an altenative to our present nuclear dilemma, a dilemma wherein our only means to now avoid a war which cannot possibly be won is to threaten the use of weapons which cannot possibly be used.

Mr. Lehrman correctly points this out as the crux of the problem. We have woven such an increasingly tangled web of mass destruction within the threads of justifiable self-defense that our society can no longer perceive a clear picture of just what is, and is not, in their justifiable interest. One result is the freeze movement—a classic reaction of rational man to an irrational situation—which encompasses the broadest bipartisan roots of our people. Unfortunately we do not have the luxury of such a simple solution, for history would simply sweep us aside. The solution lies in finding the catalyst to effectual arms control.

We *must* find an alternative to our present nuclear dilemma, a dilemma wherein our only means to now avoid a war which cannot possibly be won is to threaten the use of weapons which cannot possibly be used.

George A. Keyworth

Mr. Lehrman's article performs a great service by clearly pointing out the arms control triumph that could arise from an emerging balance of offensive and defensive strategic forces. For it is only when competent defenses remove all prospect of first strike—for either side—that really dramatic offensive force reductions can be made possible. And it is only under the promise of such drastic force reductions that our future generations can once again entertain hope.

George A. Keyworth
Science Advisor to the President
Washington, DC

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Learning by Example

Dear Sir:

William Kristol's review of the performance of William J. Bennett, James C. Miller III, and Thomas W. Pauken at their federal agencies ("Can-Do Government," Winter 1985), is an excellent blueprint as to how one can take hold and run a federal agency with excellence.

New leadership, particularly representing a philosophy that differs from the conventional wisdom of civil servants at an agency, faces an initial atmosphere of distrust. Workers ask: Will my program be cut? Will I lose my job or be switched to a job of less status? Can I retool if the policy work I do is no longer relevant or constructive to new philosophy?

These are real fears, expressed by often dedicated public servants who have been taught to do a job one way and are asked to think about their job in new ways—ways that might ultimately lead to eliminating the tasks they have been performing. This is the situation I faced when I became chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) in 1981.

In both broadcast and telecommunications regulation, FCC policies had begun to change before I arrived. But I knew that the effort had to speed up, and even more decisive breaks with the past would be required.

In radio and television, the Commission had to stop functioning as enforcer of "Brownie point" rules that bore no relation to the real concerns of listeners and viewers. But that meant that yesterday's regulators had to become today's deregulators.

To do this, I came to the agency with an explicit set of five objectives, objectives that I felt encapsulated the President's philosophy. These included eliminating all unnecessary regulation, maximizing the operation of the communications marketplace, and getting the government out of the content regulation business. With our objectives clearly stated—and publicized—throughout the Commission, we established a Management by Objectives (MBO) program. Every employee, from clerk-typist to bureau chief, agreed to a set of objectives that had to be met in order to obtain a satisfactory job rating. Every employee knew what was expected—what would constitute failure, what would constitute success.

In this way, we include, top to bottom, all workers at the FCC in what we are trying to accomplish and let them know what the standard would be for measuring performance. Fears of job loss based on change of policy gave way to performance under a standard to which each employee has agreed and believes is a fair and impartial one.

Added to MBO, we have experimented with quality circles. We have encouraged employees to retrain in areas, principally in telecommunications, where the new regulatory challenges are emerging. And by chopping away at unnecessary jobs and functions, we could go to Congress and to the Office of Management and Budget with proposed budgets that were realistic and reflected pared-down, efficient agency needs.

In short, as Mr. Kristol's article shows, better government governs better.

The recognition of the great contributions of Messrs. Bennett, Miller, and Pauken is richly deserved.

Mark S. Fowler
Chairman
Federal Communications Commission
Washington, DC

Dear Sir:

William Kristol's excellent article in the winter issue demonstrates that people with good ideas can transform government agencies.

As Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) during the first two years of the Reagan Administration, I can confirm the unorthodox view that there are many civil servants who are willing and able to follow effective leaders in new policy directions. What it takes is a sound philosophical foundation, a respect for facts, and a lot of energy and patience to overcome the inertial force that exists in any large organization, public or private.

I can confirm the unorthodox view that there are many civil servants who are willing and able to follow effective leaders in new policy directions.

E. S. Savas

It might be argued that the agencies Mr. Kristol examines [the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Federal Trade Commission, and ACTION], are relatively small and that it is easier to redirect them than it is to redirect cabinet-level departments.

My experiences at HUD, however, show that major policy changes can be implemented even in such unpromising settings. Witness the profound transformations in HUD's two areas, housing and urban development.

Prior to the Reagan Administration, the federal government's low-income housing policy consisted primarily of giving money to build expensive "low cost" housing, much of it to be owned and operated by local governments. The result is a $250 billion debt that is not yet counted in the national debt figures.

In 1981, however, President Rea-

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gan accepted the HUD policy proposal to make housing vouchers the dominant form of such aid. Under this market-oriented privatized approach, three times as many needy families can be helped for the same amount of money and they have a greater choice of dwellings instead of being relegated to housing that is labeled, in effect, "For poor people only." That Congress has only grudgingly embraced the President's program may be attributed to the fact that builders make larger campaign contributions than voucher recipients make.

Urban policy, too, was turned around. For 15 years, it had been accepted that it was up to the national government to "solve the urban crisis." In 1982, however, the President's legislatively mandated National Urban Policy Report presented a strikingly different view of the problem and a totally different approach. The new policy:

1. emphasized economic growth as the key to urban prosperity;
2. called for a better balance of responsibilities among the different levels of government, in accordance with federalism;
3. encouraged greater reliance by cities on the private sector;
4. called for local leadership initiatives to address local problems; and
5. proposed experimental enterprise zones.

The initial reaction of those who had been used to wheedling funds from Washington was one of outrage. In time, however, local leaders all over the country have begun to improve their cities' outlook by marshalling the enormous latent strengths of their communities. Moreover, the best mayors have gained public support by responsibly realigning their rhetoric with reality.

There are numerous other success stories to be told. Government can be turned around. The key, as Mr. Kristol effectively relates, is the individual with a compelling strategy who is willing to take risks.

E.S. Savas
Professor of Management
The City University of New York
New York, NY

Origin of Species

Dear Sir:

Regarding Rachel Flick's article on evolution and creationism ("In the Beginning . . . ," Winter 1985), it seems to me that the key point is not the length of time of the creation process, nor the basic principle of natural selection. Miss Flick does as good a job as anyone in exposing the weakness of the evolutionist's argument on that point. What I am most interested in is the presence or absence of a directing force. It is on that point that the intrinsic weakness of the theory of evolution is clearest, where the common sense of the average person stands firmest, and where all the controversy ought to be focused.

It is also the point at which, were it not for scientific arrogance, the whole controversy could have been (and still can be) avoided, at least as a matter of public policy. Creationists, of course, admit (demand?) a directing force, but their insistence on biblical literalism undercuts their case scientifically, as well as politically and judicially. Can we square the circle?

Leave aside the question of where everything came from. Neither side has an answer for that one. Start with the question of how simple stuff gets organized into complex stuff.

It does not happen by accident. There simply is no way that simple elements can assemble themselves into complex molecules, let alone into life, without some kind of organizing, directing intelligence.

Take, for illustration's sake, a box divided into two parts, but with a doorway connecting them. Fill the box with equal numbers of red and black blocks, randomly distributed, and then shake. You can add energy from outside until the cows come home, but the blocks will never sort themselves into all red on one side, all black on the other. Of course, if you start out with sorted blocks and then add energy, you will shortly have a random assortment—the chaos towards which our universe is tending.

It appears to me that the attempt to pass laws requiring equal time for creationism could have been avoided if science teachers in our high schools and colleges had been willing to say something like the following:

> We see in nature exceedingly complex organisms. The fossil record seems to indicate that these organisms came into being over enormous periods of time, but science has no explanation for the mechanism by which it happened. More importantly, the spontaneous evolution of these organisms would violate the mathematical laws of probability. We are led, as scientists, to conclude that there is some directing intelligence responsible.
>
> Furthermore, that kind of directing intelligence could account for the gaps in the fossil record and the absence of intermediate forms, since the change from one species to another is obviously purposed and thus would not take long at all.

That kind of humility has not characterized science instruction in America in this century. Rather, students holding theistic views of the universe have been made to feel silly and stupid. Such humility on the part of scientists would not give the fundamentalists the Bible as a biology text, but it would permit them to fill in the gaps left by science with their own theology. They would not have to persuade their children that their science teachers are wrong, but only that there are more things in heaven and earth than are approachable through the scientific method. The antagonism between science and religion would disappear.

The stubborn resistance of the average person to the teachings of science on the subject of evolution ought to be a lesson to social engineers everywhere, and ought to be a clue that some humility is in order.

Gordon Jones
The Heritage Foundation
Washington, DC

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Dear Sir:

Rachel Flick, like many who have not had a modern recent biology course, is sadly out of date. Although she's a good positivist in her view that testing is necessary, she thinks that evolution cannot be tested, "natural selection is utterly insusceptible of disproof—making it, by logical extension, never really provable either."

There simply is no way that simple elements can assemble themselves into complex molecules, let alone into life, without some kind of organizing, directing intelligence.

Gordon Jones

Some 40 years ago, when I read *Science Is a Sacred Cow,* I was much impressed with this point of view. But beginning about 20 years ago, theoretical biologists began the process of making predictions from natural selection, and then looking at the real world to find out whether plants and animals in fact were developing the way they should. Natural selection has stood up very well under these tests.

For a period of time, practically every article in such a theoretically inclined journal as the *American Naturalist,* formally tested natural selection. The article would take the form of first deducing what would be the efficient design of some aspect of plants or animals. For example, what is the efficient distribution of beak sizes among insectivorous birds? Having developed a theory, the article would then turn to looking at real world data and testing the natural selection efficiency hypothesis. Today, the point has been so well established among biologists that such direct research is rather passé. An indirect test of natural selection, however, is contained in the November 1984 *American Naturalist.*

Jeremy Montague investigated the rather odd egg laying procedure of certain Hawaiian mosquitos. If natural selection had developed efficient mosquitos, there had to be some reason why mosquitos who laid their eggs in this way would tend to survive better than those who did not.

He developed a hypothesis as to what this reason was. He then investigated the real world and found the phenomenon predicted by this hypothesis. Unlike the earlier tests, this was not a direct test of natural selection, but indirectly, it offers evidence that these mosquitos had been selected for efficiency.

For a long time, the criticism that the natural selection hypothesis was not testable was a valid one. It is only fairly recently that biologists have been testing it. By now the tests are numerous and the theory has stood up very well.

Gordon Tullock
Professor of Economics
George Mason University
Fairfax, VA

Dear Sir:

The conclusion of Rachel Flick's article about evolution was incoherent. She shreds evolution—and pokes no holes at all in creationism—but concludes that evolution is the "best" explanation for the origin of the species.

And why does Miss Flick say Archaeopteryx is a transitional form between a dinosaur and a bird? How does she know it wasn't simply another, distinct animal—unless, of course, she has presupposed the truth of evolution, which, alas, she obviously has.

John Lofton
Columnist
The *Washington Times*
Washington, DC

Defending Liberties

Dear Sir:

I thought the piece on the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) by Richard Vigilante and Susan Vigilante ("The ACLU Takes Liberties," Fall 1984), was in parts remarkably thoughtful in probing a few current and controversial areas of the ACLU's work on which reasonable people—even among the organization's own leadership and membership—may differ. But their conclusion—that the ACLU is no longer relevant because "the United States in 1984 is dizzyingly, gloriously free"—is way off base, for two important reasons.

The first is that the ACLU continues to play a critical role in defining the vanguard of civil liberties protections. The Vigilantes call this "legal adventuring," but it has in fact been crucial to the maintenance of the Bill of Rights as a meaningful document over the course of many generations. It was the ACLU, more than any other single group, which led courts and legislatures, and ultimately, the public at large (even, I suspect, the Vigilantes) to understand that the Constitution protects the rights of women, of young people, of the mentally ill and disabled, of prisoners, of military personnel—the list goes on.

The point is that in, say, 1965, most enlightened people, including many who termed themselves civil libertarians, did not think of these and other discrete groups as having rights in the sense that the rest of us have them. Yet today, while there remain disputes on the extent to which prison mail should be censored, or whether mentally ill people should be confined against their will, there is a broad societal consensus that the Bill of Rights *applies* in these settings.

That process—of applying the traditional values and principles of the Bill of Rights to new situations and settings—is what is going on in the areas cited by the Vigilantes. Whose rights are at stake in the Baby Doe-type cases is a *new* issue—even five years ago, the technology which can sustain the lives

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of severely handicapped infants did not exist. The "equal access" issue is a "second generation" church-state problem, arising, in my view, from the efforts of those who have failed to restore government-sponsored prayers in the schools to circumvent the relevant court rulings. Whether the Bill of Rights restricts the activities of our government in supporting foreign governments, such as El Salvador, in abridging the rights of their citizens, is an issue which could not have arisen when the ACLU was founded in 1920, and America's role in the rest of the world was minimal compared to today.

Perhaps the ACLU missteps from time to time in this process. But it is a vital process, because the Bill of Rights is not a static document—its genius lies in its ability to retain force and relevance in an America vastly changed from the agrarian society of the late 18th century.

The second reason the Vigilantes are way off base is that they don't know, or don't care, about the work being done, day in and day out, by the ACLU's affiliates around the country. They claim that the ACLU has eschewed "the noble but perhaps tedious job of conserving already secured basic rights," but that can only be because they have not taken the time to examine the dockets of the ACLU's 50 affiliates, and to see the kinds of outrages which spur the 6,000 cases handled by the ACLU nationwide.

If they'd come to Texas, they'd have learned about our lawsuit against a judge in the Panhandle who jailed a woman for nearly a month because she wrote him a letter criticizing his treatment of her two sons. They'd have heard about the public school principal in the Rio Grande Valley who read the Bible over the public address system each morning until the threat of an ACLU lawsuit got him to quit.

And it's not only out here in the provinces where we're still fighting the battles of Roger Baldwin's time. In tolerant Massachusetts, the ACLU is defending Susan Shapiro, a student subject to discipline and harassment because she refused to salute the flag. In New York, the local ACLU affiliate is representing Michael McCray, a young black man challenging his conviction by a jury from which members of his race had been systematically excluded.

The ACLU is a vital American institution. If we didn't exist, we'd have to be invented. Not only to do the "noble but tedious" work of making sure local school boards, judges, and police chiefs live up to the dictates of the Constitution, but to expand the parameters of liberty in each generation, to keep this country true to its principles, and to help it remain the freest on earth.

Gara LaMarche
Executive Director
Texas Civil Liberties Union
Austin, TX

Mother Knows Best

Dear Sir:

Your recent article "Does Pete Du Pont Have the Chemistry to be President?" (Fall 1984) is the first in what will be a long list of favorable articles about the Republican Party's best kept secret: Pete Du Pont. *Policy Review* asks a difficult question concerning the "correct" chemistry to be President.

Well, certainly that individual must have a strong internal sense of confidence, so that we again don't find a Jimmy Carter in office wondering out loud if he could effectively lead the Western Alliance.

A successful President also must have the innate ability to motivate and inspire people—another trait sorely lacking in politics lately, with the sole exception of Ronald Reagan.

Less romantic, and more tactical, but just as important in today's media age, is the ability to do well on television. While many would like to believe that leadership ability will shine through, the sad commentary is that probably great leaders like Abe Lincoln, Teddy Roosevelt and Winston Churchill would not have done well in the TV age.

In 1988, however, television and the ability to use television to one's advantage will dominate the election.

On all three counts, Pete Du Pont is a winner. He is a confident man, steady in his beliefs. He is a motivator; all his campaigns have shown that, not to mention his extraordinary record as Chief Executive of Delaware. And, last but not least, Pete is damn good on television. I'll give you an example:

This summer, watching the Republican convention on television with my mother, she saw Pete Du Pont. "Who is that . . . I like that man . . . when is he going to run for President?", she asked. A week later, when most events from the convention had faded from memory, she still remembered Du Pont.

As we look ahead to 1988, the field in both parties will be crowded with the new generation of politicians. The Democrats will have Cuomo, Bradley, Biden, Hart, Robb, Rockefeller, and others. The GOP may have Bush, Kemp, Baker, Dole. But, of that list, I believe Pete Du Pont will quickly rise to the top.

John LeBoutillier
New York

[John LeBoutillier was formerly a Republican Member of Congress from New York.]

Correction

In "Beyond Containment: The Future of U.S.-Soviet Relations" (Winter 1985), the following statement by Edward Luttwak was incorrectly attributed to Eugene Rostow:

> I would definitely have "done" Indochina differently. Our cause was perfectly sound and just. But our military policy failed. On the one hand, civilians prevented the Air Force from bombing the key targets. On the other hand, civilian control totally failed to discipline the armed forces as they sacrificed every priority of war to their own bureaucratic priorities. We tried to wage war with a salad of uncoordinated military bureaucracies.

Policy Review regrets the error.

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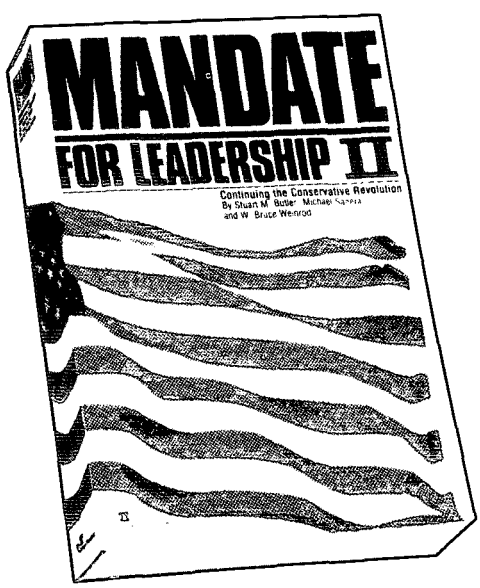
"...One of the people it's been most useful to and used by is me."

Ronald Reagan

on Mandate for Leadership I



The election is over but not the revolution

The conservative revolution continues. The Heritage Foundation again leads the way.

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The Heritage Foundation

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Abortion and Infanticide

Is There a Difference?

David Cannon

Is there a moral difference between abortion and infanticide? This question was raised when the Supreme Court handed down its *Roe v. Wade* decision in 1973. For if the taking of life was permissible before birth, why was it not permissible after?

This was not simply a matter for idle speculation. A number of advocates of legal abortion were also beginning to justify infanticide. Nobel laureate James Watson, one of the discoverers of the double helix structure of DNA, declared in 1973 that infants should not be "declared alive until three days after birth" in order to allow parents the choice of disposing of their defective newborn. Then, in October 1973, Doctors Raymond Duff and A. G. M. Campbell favorably reported in the *New England Journal of Medicine* that more than 40 defective infants had been purposely allowed to die in the Yale-New Haven Hospital. Of course, the idea of infanticide was not new, even for "civilized" society. It was widely practiced in 19th-century France, and was not infrequent in England, as evidenced by adoption of the legal requirement that midwives swear anti-infanticide oaths.

Abandoning Equality

In 1974, Professor Michael Tooley of Stanford University contended in *The Rights and Wrongs of Abortion* that there are no "morally relevant" biological differences between a fetus and a newborn and thus any rational or consistent defense of abortion necessarily includes a defense of infanticide. He reasoned that to have a serious right to life, one must be a "person"—someone with the "concept of a self as a continuing subject of experiences and other mental states." Though contradicted by recent scientific data showing complex consciousness and measurable brain activity in newborns and fetuses, Mr. Tooley concluded that infants and fetuses do not have these attributes and therefore lack a right to life—although he conceded that they are clearly "human life."

Once the idea of infanticide was widely aired among the American intelligentsia, the time was ripe to advocate its legalization. Harvard Law professor Philip Heymann, later U.S. Assistant Attorney General in the Carter Administration, argued in *Public Policy* in 1975 that there is no relevant biological difference between fetuses and infants and that since the law of the land rightly allows feticide, it should also allow infanticide. "The being has not changed [through birth] in any relevant way," he stated. "Why should the moment of birth so dramatically change the context of the decision as to whether the infant should continue to live?" It is unreasonable, he states, that "at the moment of birth society sacrifices so much of its ability to choose freely and rationally whether the life that is about to begin should be allowed to proceed with all the costs that are sure to ensue."

At about the same time, Professor John Robertson, in the *Stanford Law Review,* advocated legalizing infanticide for defective newborns. The practice of killing defective newborns is so widespread, he reasoned, that "further danger from formalizing the precedent appears small." He suggested that subjecting the infanticide decision "to rules and procedures may demonstrate the solemn nature of a difficult situation. Since the power to cause the death of a defective newborn is an awesome one, it is essential that such decisions be carefully confined by law." Francis Crick, who shared the Nobel with James Watson, announced that "no newborn infant should be declared human until it has passed tests regarding its genetic endowment and . . . if it fails these tests, it forfeits the right to live."

Many other advocates of legalized abortion see no real difference between feticide and infanticide. Peter Singer wrote in the *New York Review of Books* in 1984:

> The pro-life groups were right about one thing: the location of the baby inside or outside the womb cannot make such a moral difference. We cannot coherently hold that it is all right to kill a fetus a week before birth, but as soon as the baby is born everything must be done to keep it alive. The solution, however, is not to accept the pro-life view that

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the fetus is a human being with the same moral status as yours or mine. The solution is the very opposite: to abandon the idea that all human life is of equal worth.

Similarly, Professor Mary Anne Warren of San Francisco State University has written:

> A human being does not become a person until sometime after its birth. . . . Some human beings [fetuses, infants] are not people. . . . Only people . . . have a full-fledged right to life. . . . Killing a newborn infant isn't murder . . .
>
> It follows from my argument that when an unwanted or defective infant is born into a society which cannot afford and/or is not willing to care for it, then its destruction is permissible.

Joseph Fletcher, professor at the University of Virginia Medical School, would approve feticide and infanticide in many cases, because fetuses and newborns are not "persons," only "human lives." Mr. Fletcher proposed a list of 15 "indicators of personhood," which range from minimal intelligence and self-awareness to sense of time and idiosyncrasy. He states that anyone with an I.Q. below 40 is "questionably a person; below the 20 mark, not a person."

Once the idea of infanticide was widely aired among the American intelligentsia, the time was ripe to advocate its legalization.

One of the main obstacles to fully legitimizing infanticide and feticide is the stubborn notion of human equality—the idea that all humans, regardless of physiological differences, have an equal claim on basic rights. Peter Westen, professor of law at the University of Michigan, addressed this concern in a 1982 article, "The Empty Idea of Equality," in the *Harvard Law Review*. Criticizing the idea of equality, Mr. Westen asks whether some kinds of humans "should be treated as 'persons' for purposes of the right to respect"—apparently his shorthand for the right to life. In order to have this right, it is not enough for one to be human, as there is nothing intrinsic to humanhood—say, over animalhood—that entitles all its possessors to be treated equally. Instead, one must possess a certain "trait that entitles anyone to be treated with respect." Although he does not define this "trait," Mr. Westen concludes that deformed newborns and many unborn children are without it.

With sponsorship from such prestigious quarters, it is no surprise that infanticide has been gaining supporters. And this popular support is often based on that most powerful and protean concept of the 1970s—the right to "privacy." In 1982, the Indiana Supreme Court sanctioned the decision of the parents of the Bloomington Baby ("Baby Doe") to starve him to death, giving infanticide an aura of respectability and sound legality. Nat Hentoff recently reported in the *Village Voice* that when he led a well-attended question and answer session at New York University Law School, a large majority of the women seemed to feel they had a right to do away with their newborn. If any defects were missed by amniocentesis, or if a newborn child simply became unwanted or inconvenient, these students felt they had a kind of "30-day return privilege," in Mr. Hentoff's words, to dispose of the child.

The Reality of Infanticide

The vast expansion of the abortion industry has also had a direct impact on the practice of infanticide. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reported the following incident in 1981:

> A woman's scream broke the late-night quiet and brought two young obstetrical nurses rushing to Room 4456 of the University of Nebraska Medical Center. The patient, admitted for an abortion, had been injected 30 hours earlier with a salt solution, which normally kills the fetus and causes the patient to deliver a mass of lifeless tissue, in a process similar to a miscarriage.
>
> This time, though, something had gone wrong. When nurse Marilyn Wilson flicked on the lights and pulled back the covers, she found, instead of the stillborn fetus she'd expected, a live 2½-pound baby boy, crying and moving his arms and legs there on the bed.
>
> Dismayed, the second nurse, Joanie Fuchs, gathered the squirming infant in loose bedcovers, dashed down the corridor and called to the other nurses for help. She did not take the baby to an intensive care nursery, but deposited it instead on the stainless steel drainboard of a sink in the maternity unit's Dirty Utility Room—a large closet where bedpans are emptied and dirty linens stored. Other nurses and a resident doctor gathered and gaped.
>
> Finally, a head nurse telephoned the patient's physician, Dr. C. J. LaBenz, at home, apparently waking him.
>
> "He told me to leave it where it was," the head nurse testified later, "just to watch it for a few minutes, that it would probably die in a few minutes."

This type of incident occurs more than 400 times a year, according to the Center for Disease Control.

Such cases raise questions about the distinction between feticide and infanticide. Is an entity, the moment it is outside the womb, an "infant" with a legal right to protection, or is it merely a fetus *ex utero*, which can still be killed at will? And if we are to call it a fetus, then how are we to define "infant," and how many days or weeks or months old must an *ex utero* fetus be before it is an "infant?" And if we allow the killing of an *ex utero* fetus, is there any logical or moral reason not to allow infanticide, on the same grounds?

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"Is there a moral difference between feticide and infanticide?"

David Cannon asked this question of prominent figures in the abortion debate.

Victor G. Rosenbloom, Professor of Law, Northwestern University; Vice Chairman, Americans United for Life

There is no essential moral difference between feticide and infanticide, as both killings involve very similar, if not identical, biological entities. Both fetus and infant exhibit functions that have been accepted as legal proof of life: detectable brain activity and a working heart. . . . Mere physical location—whether in a womb or in a hospital room—is not dispositive of a particular human life's sanctity.

Nat Hentoff, columnist and former board member, New York Civil Liberties Union

If the fetus is a developing human being—and what else can it possibly be?—then killing him or her is not essentially different from killing an infant. Indeed, the argument is not infrequently made by some pro-abortionists that "viability" does not begin until an infant is three or four years old, and before that age, the infant is a nonperson.

Janet Carroll, Associate Legislative Director, National Right to Life Committee

Rationally understood, there is no scientifically or morally significant difference between a fetus and an infant—both are living, moving, sentient beings of *homo sapiens* with basically all the attributes of humanhood: functioning circulatory, respiratory, and metabolic systems, measurable brain waves, taste, sight, touch, and hearing, the active capacity to learn, the power of independent movement. Both are more vulnerable than mature humans—if left completely on their own, they would perish. . . .

There is thus no difference between feticide and infanticide. The same kind of being is killed. After birth, the death peddlers can better target the imperfect baby; before birth, both healthy and handicapped babies are killed, more than 95 percent of them for purely social reasons.

Dr. J. C. Willke, President, National Right to Life Committee

There is no morally relevant difference between feticide and infanticide. In each case, a living, moving human, who is sexed, completely intact, and programmed from within, is directly killed. And often the motive is the same—convenience or materialism. Each is also totally unique from all other humans and will never appear on the human scene again.

The objective evil is identical in both cases. Individual guilt, however, is another dimension of the problem. This involves whether the person killing believes the act is wrong. This can differ with different people's beliefs, motivations, etc.

Dr. Lawrence Lader, co-founder, National Abortion Rights Action League

There is a clear moral difference between feticide and infanticide. Infanticide is the taking of a human life, a person already born. Abortion deals with tissue in the womb. The great majority of Protestant, Jewish, and other denominations and others unaffiliated with religious denominations do not believe that the fetus is a human person. And even the Roman Catholic position was not clarified until the mid-19th century because the Church followed the teachings of St. Thomas Aquinas which held that "animation" did not take place until 60 or 90 days after conception depending on a male or female fetus.

Since the great majority of religious denominations and their constituents do not believe that a fetus is a human person, and since the United States Supreme Court in its 1973 decision on abortion stated that neither medical science, law, or religion as a whole could define the point when a fetus becomes a human person, except by the standard definition of birth, it seems clear that there is a sharp line between infanticide and the termination of a pregnancy by abortion.

Beverly Harrison, Professor of Christian Ethics, Union Theological Seminary

An infant is a biologically discrete entity, an individual human being—though not a full person. In the first half of pregnancy, a fetus could not be considered this. . . . There is no analogue between a conceptus and a human being except certain protoplasm—the former is human tissue but not human life. . . . In regard to infanticide, one has to weigh the moral concerns carefully. It is wise for the community to discourage infanticide and would

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be unwise to make abortion illegal. . . . Infanticide is not a great wrong. I do not want to be construed as condemning women who, under certain circumstances, quietly put their infants to death.

Virginia Abernethy, Professor of Psychiatry and Anthropology, Vanderbilt University Medical School

Feticide implies that the primary intent is to kill the fetus. Abortion means premature termination of pregnancy, with death of the fetus being an unintended although admittedly nearly inevitable effect. The intentionality issue illuminates a key distinction between abortion and infanticide: a fetus uses a woman's body in a way that an infant does not. Abortion is the only means available to a pregnant woman who does not consent to this use. Abortion is intended to terminate that use. Infanticide has no such rationale. No particular person is captive to an infant's needs. A person's [the woman's] right to self-determination does not compete against compassion, so an infant should receive care.

Dr. Daniel Callahan, Director, The Hastings Center

There is a very significant difference between feticide and infanticide. The whole rights of human personhood reside in a child who has been born. Fetuses late in their development, have rights very close to those of the born child. However, the right to life of the early fetus—up to 20 weeks—is much more uncertain, though I believe the fetus at whatever stage should be granted moral respect.

While a logical, and I believe moral, distinction can be made between feticide and infanticide, it may prove very difficult in practice to keep that distinction alive. Thus, it seems that those, like myself, who support the right to choose abortion early in pregnancy, have a particular duty to uphold the moral prohibition of infanticide. The main problem, as with any resort to violence, is that the violence will escalate. Thus, those who defend violence in some circumstances—abortion, for instance—have a special duty to limit its effect and scope.

Daniel Maguire, Professor of Moral Theology, Marquette University

As to feticide and infanticide, we would not need two words if the two realities were identical. The early fetus is not a person in any accepted sense of that term. Through most of its history, the Christian Church would not allow the baptism of early fetuses that miscarried, while the baptism of infants was mandatory. Even before the development of embryology, this tradition sensed that potential persons are not actual persons any more than potential wealth makes one rich.

Dr. Jane Hodgson, professor, University of Minnesota Medical School

After delivery at 40 weeks the fetus is called an infant, destruction of which is called murder. This is morally unjustified anywhere, anytime. . . .

Legalized abortion is justifiable. It prevents unwanted pregnancies, battered children, juvenile delinquency, congenital defects, and compulsory teenage pregnancies. It protects maternal and infant health by providing for child spacing, granting a woman control of her reproductive life, a basic human right. Legalized abortion is therefore a humane medical service—often an act of love.

Dr. Warren Hern, Director, Boulder Abortion Clinic, Boulder, Colorado

There are, clearly, moral differences between a fetus or embryo and an infant. There is little, if any, disagreement that the infant has a separate, if not independent, existence and has a moral claim to life and protection.

The moral status of the fetus, on the other hand, and the claims to protection on its behalf, are inseparable from the moral rights and claims to the woman carrying it. The presence of the fetus is a risk to the life of the woman. On the grounds of prior rights to life, as well as other rights, the woman's moral rights for survival have precedence over the alleged rights of the fetus or embryo.

LeRoy Walters, Director, Center for Bioethics, Kennedy Institute of Ethics, Georgetown University

There are two principal differences between feticide and infanticide. The first is that an infant can be removed from its family and adopted by another family without risk to its life. In contrast, given the current technology, an implanted fetus cannot safely be removed from its mother until late in gestation. Thus, in an abortion considered to be morally justifiable, feticide is the currently inevitable consequence of removing the fetus from the uterus, even if the death of the fetus is not intended. Infanticide is not inevitable, and it is almost always intended.

The second difference regards the object of the action. In terms of brain development, early human fetuses exhibit simple brainstem function, whereas virtually all infants are characterized by active neocortical function. At these extremes, there is thus a striking contrast in the neurological complexity and capacity of fetuses and infants, presumably including their capacity to perceive pain. Infanticide involves the killing of a more complex being that is much more likely than a 9-week-old fetus to be able to experience pain.

Richard Cohen, columnist, *Washington Post*

There are times when infanticide is morally justifiable . . . Abortion is not justifiable in some few circumstances, but I could not say when it is morally wrong. That is for people themselves to decide. I would have no problem with a casual abortion in the fourth or fifth month. An abortion in the eighth month because of gender may not be good.

Faye Wattleton, president of Planned Parenthood, and Nanette Falkenberg, executive director of the National Abortion Rights Action League, refused to respond.

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Whether feticide and infanticide are morally similar, of course, depends largely on whether fetuses and newborns are biologically similar beings. Recent scientific advances, such as development of fetoscopy and ultrasonography allow close scrutiny of the fetus under different conditions. Such scientific tests reveal that in the first month of his life, a newborn is more like a fetus than like other infants, and that a fetus has virtually every property or attribute that a newborn has: both are genetically unique human lives who direct their own ontogenesis; both have working circulatory, respiratory, metabolic, and nervous systems; both can visually discriminate between objects, can taste, touch, feel pain, suck their thumbs, grasp objects, move independently, wake, sleep, and dream, and hear a variety of noises.

Brain activity begins within 45 days of conception. *Science* magazine concludes that "behavioral scientists are using established experimental methods to show that fetuses can and do learn." And Dr. Mortimer Rosen, director of obstetrics and gynecology of the Cleveland Metropolitan General Hospital, states that the human "brain doesn't just 'turn itself on' when the baby is delivered . . . Long before birth . . . the human brain is developing and influencing the future functions of both mind and body." When the fetus is touched, says Dr. Rosen, "the brain receives the stimulus, selects a response, and transmits the response as a signal to the fetal arm; the arm moves." The *British Medical Journal* states that by mid-pregnancy "the inner ear of the fetus is completely developed;" and he can "respond to a wide variety of sounds." The fetus can "touch parts of his body with his hands," and "also produce complex facial expressions and even smile."

Dr. Thomas Verny, in *The Secret Life of the Unborn Child*, states that the prenatal baby is "an aware, reacting, fascinating little person" who leads an active mental life and who, long before birth, is sensitive to his parents' feeling about the pregnancy, and is capable of responding to love. And the fetus, like the newborn, even has memory, according to Dr. Sepp Schindler, an Austrian psychiatrist and endocrine researcher, who discovered that well before the end of the first trimester, the baby produces vasopresin, a hormone that aids memory function. Dr. Schindler reasons that things are generally not produced until there is a function for them. Dr. R.D. Laing, a British psychiatrist, places remembered experience as early as conception.

Studies show that newborns exhibit clear patterns of preference for various objects and sounds, and can mimic others. One 1977 study found that babies only one hour old could in imitation stick out their tongues. Newborns also exhibit definite preferences for curved lines over straight ones, complex over simple patterns, and faces over non-face objects. These and other studies all show the existence of an active, discriminating, intentional, and mature brain functioning well before birth.

Gripping proof of the fetus's humanity is seen in *The Silent Scream*, a sonogram film that shows a first trimester abortion in vivid detail. The film shows the child thrashing about attempting to escape the abortionist's instruments, with his mouth gaping open. Near the point of death, the child's heart rate increased from 140 beats per minute to more than 200 beats. Pro-abortionists have presented medical experts who claim, without proof, that the film is a product of trick photography. A New York physician, Dr. Erwin Nichols, received prominent media coverage when he declared there was no evidence for a public statement by President Reagan that fetuses often feel pain during abortion. Nevertheless, a group of 26 doctors, including two past presidents of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, sent President Reagan a letter defending his assertion:

> The ability to feel pain and respond to it is clearly not a phenomenon that develops de novo at birth . . . Modern obstetrical practice and procedure seeks to minimize sensory deprivation of, and sensory insult to the fetus . . . Over the last 18 years, real time ultrasonography, fetoscopy, study of the fetal E.K.G. and fetal E.E.G. have demonstrated the remarkable responsiveness of the human fetus to pain, touch, and sound. That the fetus responds to changes in light intensity within the womb, to heat, to cold, and to taste . . . has been exquisitely documented.

The doctors "categorically" endorsed the finding of Arnold Gesell of the Yale Medical School in his widely-used text on embryology: "by the close of the first trimester the fetus is a sentient, moving being. We need not speculate as to the nature of his psychic attributes, but we may assert that the organization of his psychosomatic self is well under way." Dr. Gesell wrote this in 1945.

Measuring Humanity

The principal difference between the fetus and the newborn is that the former is physically attached to another human body. However, physical connection to another body does not preclude humanity. Some Siamese twins, for example, are extremely weak and dependent for survival on their stronger twins—a relationship equivalent to the mother-fetus arrangement.

Infanticide may be more emotionally significant to us because we can openly see and feel infants, and have already formed social bonds with them. The idea of destroying an infant is therefore much more hideous to us than destroying a fetus, yet the experience and result is precisely the same for them both.

Arguments that the fetus is not "viable" and therefore not human have a common problem. No organism on earth is "viable" except in relation to some external support system. Both newborn and fetus are immobile and non-self-providing and thus are completely dependent on another source for care and nutrition. In fact, an adult is as dependent on the biosphere as the newborn and the fetus are on other humans. A viability argument against fetal personhood therefore is actually at odds with a proper, ecological understanding of life.

In view of the crucial role science has played in revealing the humanity of newborn and preborn children, it is perhaps not surprising that some persons, who otherwise welcome the lead of science, have taken a negative stance toward science in the context of abortion. One woman's

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newspaper calls for the abolition of fetoscopy because it makes a human "patient" of the fetus, and Alfred Moran, executive director of Planned Parenthood, has warned of the ability of technology to "personalize" the fetus. A. Bartlett Giamatti, Jr., president of Yale University, dismisses science by proclaiming that society has no means to discover the beginning of life: "Only God knows when life begins."

The life-begins-at-birth position is occasionally supported by unconventional beliefs about the human soul. For example, the *Columbia Law Review,* which normally insists that supernatural or theological beliefs not be allowed to determine public policy, recently published an article suggesting that "a child's spiritual being comes into existence as it is born." This is an extremely unusual idea, with no basis in science or traditional religion.

With the increasing public awareness of the humanity of the fetus, many abortion proponents, as a defensive measure, have taken to emphasizing that abortion is only permitted in the first three months of pregnancy.

The vast majority of abortions—approximately 90 percent—take place in the first trimester. However, *Roe v. Wade* permits abortion up to the very moment of birth. The decision divides gestation into three "trimesters" which putatively correspond to three biologically (and morally) distinct stages of fetal life, with the fetus not becoming "viable" until the beginning of the third trimester. The court held that no restrictions of any kind may be placed on abortion in the first trimester. In the second trimester, the right to abort the child remains untrammeled, but the state may regulate abortion in ways "related to maternal health," such as requiring abortionists to be licensed.

In the third trimester, abortion may possibly be prohibited if the state so chooses, but it may not be prohibited if a doctor states that the abortion is necessary for the woman's "health." "Health," of course, has been sufficiently broadly construed by most courts that it includes "social well-being." Thus, even if a state were to prohibit third trimester abortions, large numbers of such abortions would still be permitted.

One of the most obvious problems with *Roe v. Wade*'s tripartite division of fetal life is its placement of "viability" at about six months. The scientific obsolescence of this proposition is increasingly clear. *Ex utero* fetuses have survived well before six months' gestation. Moreover, it has been proven that a conceptus, just a few days old is, in a sense, "viable"—the well-publicized "test-tube" babies, shortly after conception, were placed in a dish for as long as a week and did not perish. In view of this and other evidences of viability prior to the third trimester, it is possible that *Roe v. Wade,* in its implicit delegitimation of post-viability abortions, may actually end up being an *anti*-abortion decision. Meanwhile, Congress last year passed a law requiring life-saving treatment for some handicapped newborns.

There are three ways in which people approach the feticide-infanticide question. Some see no difference, and oppose both. Some see no difference, and would allow both. And some make distinctions that would allow abortion but not infanticide. But even though a nine-month-old fetus may be larger, more fully formed, and more mentally mature than a three-month-old fetus, are these not mostly differences of degree, not kind? And if we are to oppose the taking of innocent human life after birth, how can we permit it before?

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Split Verdict

What Americans Think About Abortion

In public debates about abortion, the most ardent activists are either for abortion on demand or for no abortion at all. Public opinion, on the other hand, collects in the middle. The overwhelming majority of Americans believe that abortion should be legal in at least some circumstances. But according to the most recent figures, a slim majority opposes legal abortion in most of the circumstances where it takes place today.

Americans do approve of abortion on demand when the circumstances are not specified, and the question is presented simply as a decision to be made by a woman alone or with her doctor. In a 1981 poll by NBC/Associated Press, 78 percent agreed that "the decision to have an abortion should be left to the woman and her physician." A CBS/New York Times poll the same year found 65 percent who thought a woman should be allowed to have an abortion "if (she) wants to . . . and her doctor agrees to it."

In 1983, 50 percent approved of the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* ruling when Gallup described it as saying that "a woman may go to a doctor to end pregnancy at any time during the first three months of pregnancy"; 43 percent opposed it. A year ago, 62 percent of respondents to an ABC/Washington Post poll agreed with the statement: "A woman should be able to get an abortion if she decides she wants one." The question was repeated this January, but changed by the stipulation, "if she wants it for any reason." Fifty-two percent approved, up 12 points from the answer to the identical question in 1981.

Public Doubts

Probe more deeply, however, and it is clear that this approval does not apply to all cases. Since 1975, Gallup has found that approximately 55 percent of Americans think abortion should be legal only under certain circumstances. From 20 to 25 percent want it legal in all cases, and 15 to 20 percent want it illegal in all cases.

The most comprehensive surveys of this question have been conducted since 1965 by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC). They reveal overwhelming support for allowing abortion "if the woman's health is seriously endangered by the pregnancy," "if she becomes pregnant as a result of rape," or "if there is a strong chance of a serious defect in the baby." Since 1972, support for legal abortion in these cases has never fallen below 79 percent. It has been as high as 92 percent, in the case of protecting the health of the mother.

But these cases that elicit so much approval account for a small minority of abortions in America. NORC has found evenly divided opinion and, in the last two years, a slight margin of disapproval, for the circumstances in which most abortions take place.

In 1984, 54 percent of NORC respondents would not allow abortion "if the family has a very low income and cannot afford any more children." Fifty-six percent would not allow abortion "if [the woman] is not married and does not want to marry the man." And an identical percentage would not allow abortion "if [the woman] is married and does not want any more children." This last circumstance has never received majority approval. Family financial difficulty, however, has moved back and forth between majority approval and majority disapproval three times since 1972.

Why is abortion approved in some circumstances but not most? William Schneider, polling analyst for the American Enterprise Institute and the *Los Angeles Times,* suggests that people draw the line when "the pregnancy was, at least to some degree, a deliberate decision." The public is sympathetic to any danger to mother or child. But when the woman has had some control over her condition, "the public does not support abortion as a way of getting out of it." Most people do not "endorse abortion as a form of birth control."

The most current information reinforces this distinction. Two polls taken in January 1985 showed most respondents in favor of legal abortion only in cases of rape, incest, or a threat to the mother's life. (No threat to the baby was mentioned.) In a Gallup poll for *Newsweek,* 58 percent approved a ban on abortion in all but those cases, up from 50 percent a year before. A January CBS/New York Times poll found 38 percent wanting abortion "legal as it is now," 45 percent wanting it "legal

Prepared with the assistance of Victoria Sackett.

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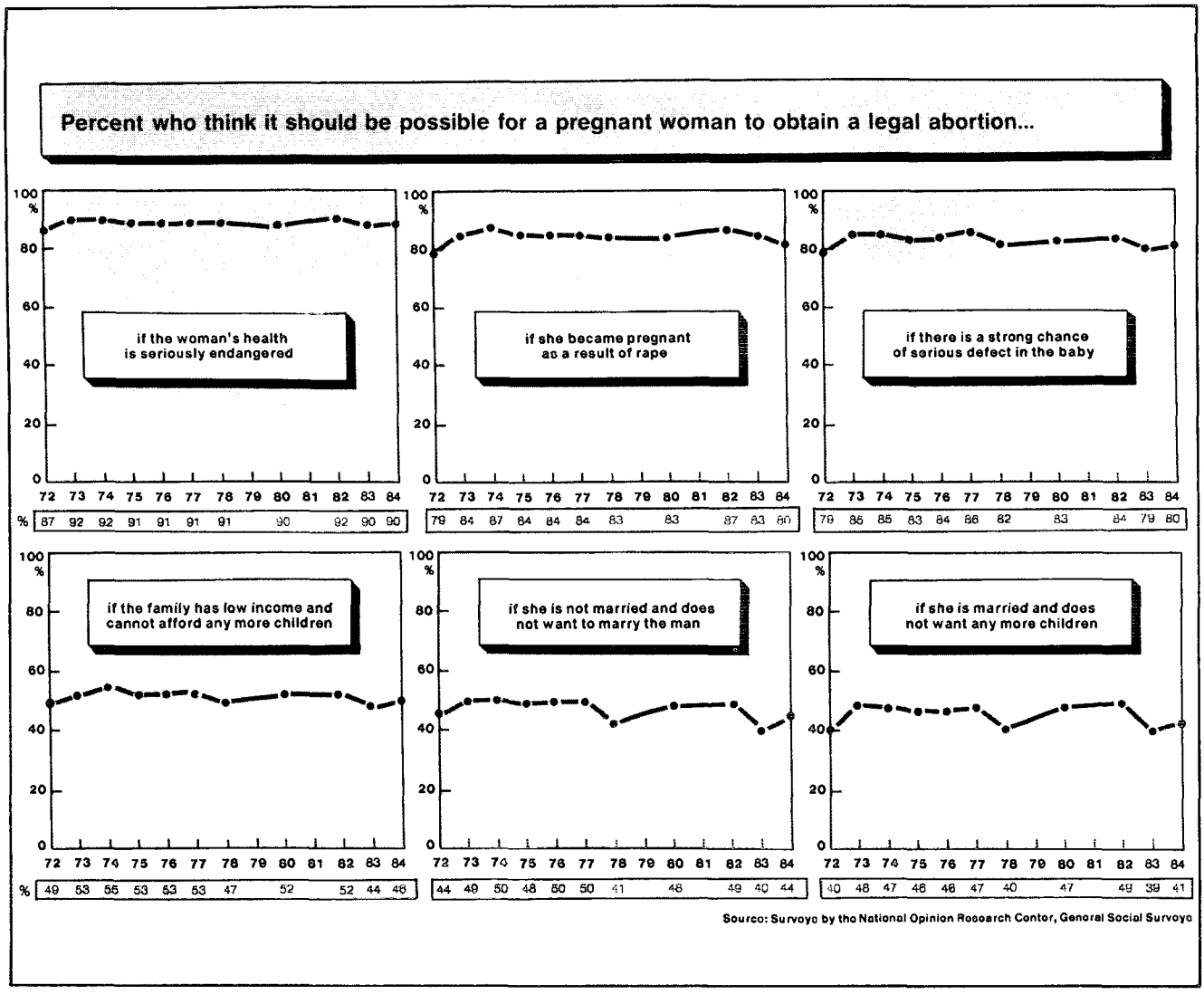
Percent who think it should be possible for a pregnant woman to obtain a legal abortion...
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if she became pregnant as a result of rape
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if there is a strong chance of serious defect in the baby
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if the family has low income and cannot afford any more children
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if she is not married and does not want to marry the man
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if she is married and does not want any more children
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72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84
Source: Surveys by the National Opinion Research Center, General Social Surveys

only in such cases as saving the life of the mother, rape, or incest," and 13 percent saying abortion "should not be permitted at all." In other words, 58 percent wanted abortion laws more restrictive than they are today.

This most divisive of issues causes fewer rifts between different population groups than one might suspect. Abortion is considered a "women's issue," but men and women divide nearly identically on most questions, and on those occasions where they differ, women usually are *less* approving of abortion than men. One explanation of this discrepancy is that women are more religious than men, as measured, for example by their church attendance—an influence that makes a difference in other groups as well. Church attendance probably explains why a greater percentage of non-whites than whites want abortion illegal in all circumstances—26 percent vs. 15 percent in 1983.

Abortion is also considered a "Catholic issue," but there is no longer any significant difference between Catholic and Protestant responses. Jews, however, are overwhelmingly in favor of legal abortion—even under circumstances where most others disapprove, according to the NORC.

Public disapproval of legal abortions under most circumstances will not necessarily translate into widespread support for changing the law. One reason may be a fear for the safety of women who would seek abortions even if they are not permitted. In January this year, fewer than half the respondents to an ABC/Washington Post poll agreed that making abortions illegal "would substantially reduce the number of abortions," and 73 percent agreed that "regardless of whether abortions are legal or not, almost all women who want abortions are going to get them." Eighty-seven percent of respondents to Gallup's *Newsweek* poll this year said "Many women would be physically harmed in abortions performed by unqualified people."

In *Abortion and the Politics of Motherhood,* Kristin Luker wrote that "There is no evidence that the pro-choice movement, any more than the pro-life movement, understands that Americans have mixed feelings about abortion." One of the biggest differences with the activists of both sides is that the public can admit to uncertainty. When Gallup, for its *Newsweek* poll, asked Americans if they ever wonder whether their own position on abortion is the right one, 38 percent said yes.

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Abortion's Other Victims

Women Discuss Post-Abortion Trauma

Maggie Gallagher

"All I ever wanted to do was be a mother. I paid money to have my dream destroyed."

From her home in Austin, Texas, Beverly Boyce recalls her abortion experience.

In 1972, Beverly Boyce was 21, single, a waitress in a small Pennsylvania town. Then she fell in love and became pregnant. Her fiancé didn't want to marry just yet, and in 1972, you couldn't get an abortion in small Pennsylvanian towns. So, Miss Boyce was referred to an abortion clinic in upstate New York.

"Once I walked into the procedure room, all of a sudden I realized the reality of what was going to happen. I started to cry, 'I've changed my mind, you can keep the money, but I've changed my mind!' The doctor pointed to a button on my blouse, 'It's only as big as that,' he replied in an annoyed tone of voice. I didn't want to go through with it, but I was so drugged up I couldn't just walk out. I screamed as loud as I could through the whole procedure—everyone was mad at me for that. Afterwards, I sobbed for a long time. I got up and started to walk around the clinic. 'I'm looking for my baby. What have you done with my baby?' I asked the clinic staff."

For 12 years afterwards, Miss Boyce's abortion haunted her life. "I became meaner," she says, "I went through periods of rage . . . It got to be that I don't know why I didn't commit suicide. It was not until six months ago that I really became okay again. The abortion made me cruel; it took a bad situation and made it a thousand times worse."

Since 1972, when Beverly Boyce obtained her legal abortion in New York, legal abortions have become commonplace procedures. In 1973, according to the Guttmacher Institute, about 250,000 abortions were performed in the United States. By 1982—the latest year for which statistics are available—the number of abortions had catapulted to just over one and a half million. Today, roughly one-quarter of all pregnancies end in abortion.

Social scientists have been trying to determine the effect abortion has on women since the late 1950s. Some of the early research, gathered at a time when abortion was generally illegal, indicated that post-abortion trauma was not uncommon, with symptoms ranging from severe depression to schizophrenia.

The consensus of current researchers differs. Henry David, a research associate with the Transnational Family Research Institute, surveyed the scientific literature on post-abortion trauma and writes in *Abortion in Psychosocial Perspective:* "Abortion is rarely a psychologically traumatic event, even when it is socially disapproved and legislation is restrictive. If there are psychological sequelae, the most common one, by far, is that of relief."

Mr. David points to a 1970 study by the Joint Program for the Study of Abortion, which found that only four out of 10,000 women obtaining legal abortions experience major psychiatric complications following the procedure. In comparison, the psychiatric complication rate following delivery is estimated at 10 to 20 per 10,000. In Aberdeen, Texas, researchers conducted psychological interviews with women before and 13 to 43 months after an abortion. Fifteen percent of the single women and 30 percent of the married women reported feeling anxious or depressed, but the psychiatric observers considered the depression mild in psychiatric terms. Many health-care professionals second the conclusion of these researchers.

"Abortion is not generally a traumatic experience for women—not to my knowledge," says Jesalee Fosterling, Executive Director of the Planned Parenthood clinic in Portland, Oregon. Susan Shaw, who has spent 10 years working in family planning clinics, concurs: "When abortion was illegal, women often found the experience traumatic. But in the current environment, with supportive physicians and clinic staff, we've found that the overwhelming response to abortion is one of relief."

Amidst this chorus of optimism a small voice of dissent is beginning to be raised—the voice of women injured by abortion. "After my abortion, I hated my husband, my children, and myself," says Lori Nerad, "I wouldn't even go out and get the mail. I was depressed for seven years."

Maggie Gallagher *is a freelance writer living in Oregon.*

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Mrs. Nerad is president of Women Exploited By Abortion (WEBA), an organization dedicated to counseling women troubled by abortions. Founded two years ago, WEBA now has chapters in 45 states and four foreign countries.

A non-political organization, WEBA has no legislative agenda and endorses no political candidates. Its primary goal is to be of service to women who have experienced traumatic abortions. The membership, estimated at 20,000, is limited to women who have had abortions. Chapters arrange support groups and offer individual counseling. Some maintain telephone hotlines.

"I'd always thought that if I got pregnant, I'd just have an abortion. My sister had had one and it didn't seem to affect her life at all."

Jackie Baker is a tall, vivacious woman in her mid-thirties. Today, she is happily married with three children whom she teaches in her Oregon home. In 1968 she was raped; a few weeks later she discovered she was also pregnant.

When her attempts to obtain an early abortion were foiled by a bad case of strep throat, Mrs. Baker stopped eating; her health deteriorated. Her parents came and took her home to San Francisco. After she recovered, they escorted her to the local Planned Parenthood clinic.

"I talked to counselors at Planned Parenthood. They asked me what I wanted to do. By that time, I was having second thoughts about the abortion. I could feel the baby kicking inside me. So I told the counselor 'I want to keep the baby.' "

Only a few weeks before, Governor Ronald Reagan had signed a new, liberal abortion law. As a victim of rape, Mrs. Baker could legally obtain an abortion in California. In her case, Planned Parenthood thought abortion was a very good idea. "At Planned Parenthood, they didn't talk about any alternatives; they only talked about abortion. They told me I hadn't considered what it would be like looking at the baby and being reminded of my horrible experience. They even took my parents aside and said, 'You have to convince her to have an abortion; she'll suffer mental illness if she carries the child to term.' I thought about running away, but I was so sick and didn't know where to go. Finally, I decided I'd just better do it."

After the abortion, Mrs. Baker went into shock. She refused to admit that she had had an abortion. Instead she would say that she had a baby out of wedlock, sometimes claiming that the child was stillborn, sometimes maintaining that she gave the baby up for adoption. Before the abortion she worked steadily as an airline stewardess, but afterwards she became deeply depressed—unable to keep a job, a boyfriend, or even a roommate.

"I couldn't motivate myself to want to do anything. I had nightmares; I'd see myself in labor and hear a baby crying. Then I'd wake up and I could still hear the baby crying softly in the distance. I wandered about the house in the middle of the night, listening to that baby cry. In the daytime, I forgot what happened. It wasn't until three years later, when I was four months pregnant with my oldest son that the memories came back to me, along with new nightmares. I thought, 'I'd killed my own child—I don't deserve to have a baby.' "

Jackie Baker's experience has much in common with other women with whom I spoke. Most of these women found that their abortions caused them long-lasting turmoil. Some women became vindictive towards men. Others lost themselves in a series of promiscuous encounters. At least one woman I talked to tried to drown her sorrow in an overdose of pills and alcohol.

Many women, like Jackie Baker, try to bury their painful memories; abortion trauma may not break into consciousness until many years later. Often the birth of wanted children brings the crisis to the surface.

"Most women when they have an abortion don't really know what they are doing—they're either so young, so ignorant, or so frightened," said one social worker at Abortion Hotline, a crisis counseling and referral center for pregnant women in Portland, Oregon. "Down the line, five, six, or seven years when they have children, some kind of trauma almost always comes up."

Many women try to bury their painful memories; abortion trauma may not break into consciousness until many years later.

Although giving a child up for adoption may also be painful, it is not as traumatic as having an abortion, said this counselor (who requested anonymity in compliance with Abortion Hotline rules). "If they give the baby up for adoption, at least they know the child will be loved and cared for. And down the line, most women do think of the aborted fetus as a living being, as a baby."

Social Pressure

Another theme which runs through the testimony of women traumatized by their abortion experience is anger at the pressure placed on them to abort their babies. Lori Nerad's abortion appointment was made by an employee of the Michigan Welfare Department, who intimated that if she refused to have an abortion her welfare checks might be cut off. "I've heard more and more stories from poor women and black women who've been pressured into abortion by welfare authorities," says Mrs. Nerad.

Some women say they felt deceived by the lack of information they received from physicians, counselors, and other experts. "The big beef I have is that they don't explain the physical, psychological, and spiritual consequences of abortion," says Eila Ryan, a Maryland woman whose own experience with abortion drove her to the brink of suicide. "And they don't tell you about the physical development of the unborn baby. They just call it 'the product of conception' or say that it's just a blob of tissue. That's a deception."

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Handicapped women (and women whose unborn have a higher-than-normal risk of being handicapped), are under particular pressure to abort. Though today Lauretta Leslie is happily married and the mother of a healthy eight-month-old girl, in 1978, her pregnancy was considered by health experts to be high-risk. She did not have a husband or a job, and she did have seizure disorder. Mrs. Leslie talked her situation over with counselors at the University of Oregon Health Science Center.

"I kept saying I didn't want an abortion. The counselor kept after me with questions I couldn't answer like 'How will you support the baby?' and 'Will the baby's father help you?' They never mentioned the alternative of adoption. As soon as I said anything resembling consent to an abortion, the doctor set up an appointment and I was told to come in." Doctors at the Health Science Center warned her that if she had the baby, there was a high probability it would be born with birth defects. They estimated she had only a 40 percent chance of bearing a normal child.

"They told me the baby would probably be deformed," Mrs. Leslie continues, "but they didn't tell me the deformity is usually just a cleft, fully correctable in surgery. They didn't tell me that."

In other cases, women felt pressure to abort simply because they were single. Family physicians are often the worst culprit in this regard. "My doctor never mentioned any alternative, he just gave me the number of an abortion clinic," says Holly Mendito, of her 1973 abortion. Mrs. Mendito now lives in Germantown, Maryland with her husband and two pre-school aged children.

Young women are particularly vulnerable to coercion by family members. It is one of the great ironies of our public morality that for single women, having sexual relationships is widely accepted, but having a baby is not. "Having an abortion is completely acceptable today, but if you carry the child for 9 months and give it up for adoption, you're a marked woman," says Mrs. Mendito. "That's what gets me."

Legacy of Abortion

If many individual women and some counselors are beginning to speak out about the trauma of abortion, why has the medical profession failed to acknowledge its existence? One reason may be that abortion trauma often surfaces many years after the event, which makes it difficult for scientific researchers to identify. The follow-up research surveyed by Mr. David studied women from five to 43 months after they had an abortion. But many of the women I spoke with did not consciously acknowledge their abortion trauma until five, ten, and even fifteen years later. Miss Boyce's abortion, for example, took place in 1972. She did not fully recover from the experience until last year. In the intervening period, she says, "If someone had asked me if I'd had an abortion, I would have said no—the memories were buried that deeply."

For other women, abortion may be extremely painful, and yet not cause visible mental illness. One young woman had an abortion while in nursing school. "I threw myself into my studies afterward. I got the best grades ever. It didn't visibly affect my life. From the outside, you'd never guess how it hurt me." There are sicknesses of the soul which are not properly classified as psychiatric disorders.

It is one of the great ironies of our public morality that for single women, having sexual relationships is widely accepted, but having a baby is not.

The pressures to abort in a "pro-choice" society are intense. The women I spoke with who felt coerced into abortion are not freakish accidents; they are the victims of the internal logic of legalized abortion. If we rationalize abortion on the ground that it is the "quality of life" that counts, then we are bound to favor that alternative whenever a woman's situation indicates the unborn will experience social, economic, or physical handicaps. In defense of the child, physicians and counselors exert pressure on women to abort. And, in my investigations, those least able to withstand coercive pressure—young, dependent women with less than perfect emotional stability—are also those most likely to be injured by an abortion they don't want.

As long as abortion remains private and convenient, and pregnancy a public badge of shame, well-meaning doctors, counselors, and parents will continue to push women into the abortion clinic. Many, perhaps most, may emerge from the experience without permanent psychological scars. But for some of these women, abortion will prove the most painful alternative of all. ☎

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Brave New Hemisphere

Latin America's Democratic Renaissance

Adam Meyerson

Seven years ago, Latin America was dominated by authoritarian regimes, most of them military juntas and many of them incredibly brutal. The only countries in the region with free elections then were Venezuela, Colombia, Costa Rica, Suriname, the English-speaking Caribbean except Grenada, and Mexico with its Chicago-style version of one-party machine politics.

But since 1978 the hemisphere has been swept by a revolution. Ten countries have transformed themselves into democracies, with two more apparently on the way. Ninety percent of the population in Latin America now live in countries that are either democratic or scheduled to become democratic soon.

The surge of democracy began in 1978, when the Dominican Republic had its first open elections since 1966 and its first peaceful transfer of power between parties in its history. Freely elected presidents replaced military governments in Ecuador (1979), Peru (1980), Honduras (1982), Bolivia (1982), Argentina (1983), El Salvador (1984), Panama (1984), and Uruguay (1985), with Guatemala scheduled for a similar transition later this year. Brazil this March inaugurated its first civilian president in 21 years, and has scheduled direct elections in 1988. Last year Grenadians voted in their first free elections since 1974.

It is one of the most remarkable political transformations in modern times. And, perhaps most extraordinary, it has been almost entirely peaceful. The history of Latin America is a history of bloodshed and instability. Many of the region's new democracies, particularly El Salvador and Peru, are engaged in ruthless combat with guerrillas. But with the exception of Grenada and probably Guatemala, most of the recent transitions to democracy have been achieved without force of arms. The democratic revolution has taken place because military regimes have relinquished power voluntarily.

The reasons for their doing so vary from country to country. In Argentina, the armed forces were humiliated by their misadventures in the Falklands. Uruguay's voters overwhelmingly rejected a draft constitution that would have given the military a permanent place in government. Brazil's soldiers have never seen themselves as a permanent ruling class. They have long been planning to leave the government, and have been slowly and deliberately opening up the political system since 1974.

In Panama, the death of dictator Omar Torrijos permitted the return of democratic politics as usual. In El Salvador and Honduras, the military faced a double realization: democracy would be a valuable weapon in mobilizing popular opinion against Communism, and it was also probably necessary for securing American aid. Soldiers in Guatemala, once their non-Marxist Central American neighbors turned to democracy, probably didn't want to be the odd men out.

But several common influences have also encouraged democracy throughout the hemisphere. The examples of Spain and Portugal, which successfully moved to democratic government in the mid-1970s after long periods of authoritarianism, have had a major impact on their former empires. Not only did the victory of socialists and social democrats make democracy look more attractive to the center-left in Latin America. But the military and center-right were reassured by the stability of Spain and Portugal after the departures of Franco and Salazar—even with the coming of socialist governments. Besides, there was the matter of cultural identification. If democracy was the wave of the future in Iberia, perhaps it should be so as well in Ibero-America.

The Catholic Church has become an important force for democracy, especially under Pope John Paul II. In his many trips to Latin America, the pope has tried to distance the church both from traditional social structures and from the equally undemocratic liberation theology. The Catholic faith was once considered conducive to authoritarianism. But almost every major Catholic country in the world today is either democratic or becoming democratic. The two most prominent exceptions are Poland and Hungary, and they, not coincidentally, are the Communist countries with the strongest democratic movements.

The democratic revolution in Latin America has received the unequivocal support of the United States—

Adam Meyerson *is editor of* Policy Review.

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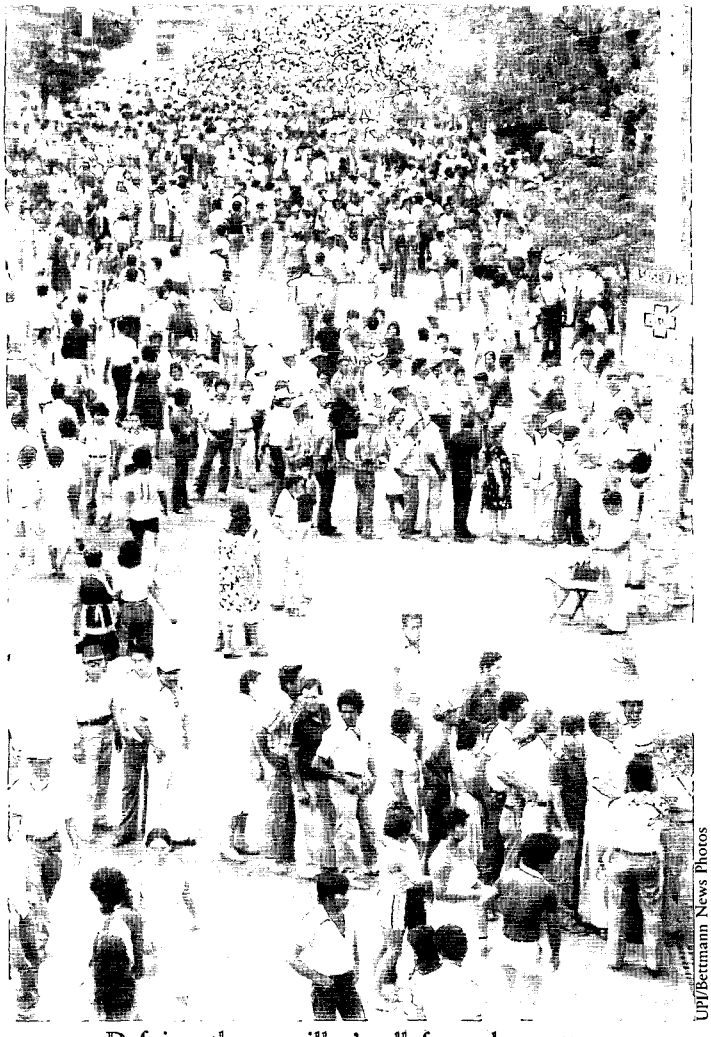

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Defying the guerillas' call for a boycott, Salvadorans voted for democracy in 1984.

under the administrations of both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. A telephone call from President Carter to President Joaquin Balaguer of the Dominican Republic in 1978 helped to dissuade that country's army from interfering with election results that appeared to favor Mr. Balaguer's opponent. The army had interrupted the counting of ballots, but allowed it to resume when Mr. Carter otherwise threatened to cut off all aid to the country. In 1979, the Carter Administration helped reinforce the wavering commitment of Ecuador's military to turn over power to a newly elected civilian. And in 1980, the promise of considerable military and economic aid helped persuade the Honduran military to hold elections for a constituent assembly, and thus begin the process of democratization. The Carter Administration's emphasis on human rights led to humanitarian improvements in Argentina, and provided an important boost of morale for democratic forces there.

The Reagan Administration has, if anything, been even more supportive of democracy. President Reagan, Vice President George Bush, and Secretary of State George Shultz have repeatedly affirmed the United States' commitment to democracy in every country in the world. The Reagan Administration supported El Salvador's beleaguered democracy when Congress was giving up hope on it. It is supporting Nicaragua's democratic *contras* who are seeking to establish the free elections promised by the Sandinistas when they seized power in 1979. It provided the opportunity for democracy in Grenada with its intervention in 1983, together with neighboring Caribbean islands. The mission was attacked in the United Nations as unwarranted interference in Grenada's internal affairs. But the Grenadians did not think so; in last year's elections, 90 percent of the voters chose candidates who applauded the intervention.

The Reagan Administration stopped a coup in Bolivia in 1984, and it helped keep Uruguay's military to its timetable for democracy by repeatedly praising it in public forums. It sent a special diplomatic mission to Honduras in 1981, when the country's military had second thoughts about democracy. It has insisted on the dismantling of death squads in El Salvador, where political killings are now running about 50 per month, down from more than 400 in 1981. The Reagan Administration has publicly and repeatedly called for democratization in Paraguay and Chile.

But much more important than any external influence has been the pressure for democracy from within Latin America itself. Most gringo "Latinamericanists" contend that the people of the region have no interest in democracy; *Foreign Policy* magazine in its latest issue published an article calling Latin pluralism a "pipe dream." But these academics have been paying more attention to Latin American intellectuals than to Latin American people. No one witnessing the joyful inaugurations of Raul Alfonsin in Argentina and Julio Sanguinetti in Uruguay could conclude that the people of these countries do not treasure the opportunity to choose their governments. No one witnessing the excitement of Salvadoran voters, who lined up for hours in front of polling stations, could conclude that democracy in their country is a charade.

The truth is that Latin America, for all its turbulence and tyranny, has a long democratic tradition. Almost every country in the region has had some experience with democracy, and many are blessed by political leaders deeply committed to democratic values. Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador was tortured by the military that stole an election from him in 1972. Rather than become an embittered Marxist revolutionary, he has worked ever since for the introduction of genuine democracy to his nation. Fernando Belaunde was deposed as president of Peru by a military coup in 1968. Today he presides over a multi-party democracy, and has allowed opposition parties to take power in municipal governments.

The soldiers of Latin America have also been sensitive to these democratic aspirations. Military regimes in the region have been unspeakably cruel, and the human rights documentation, particularly from the 1970s, reads like a catalog of horrors: 8,961 "disappearances" in Argentina; 5,000 to 10,000 dead in Chile; 80,000 questioned or detained in Uruguay. But the military in most Latin countries has always been concerned about its public legitimacy. It has usually taken power only at times of national crisis, and only with widespread public support. Three hundred thousand Brazilians danced in the streets of Rio the day after the army took over in

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1964. In 1973, Uruguay's civilian government voluntarily handed power to the military, in the hopes of eradicating the Tupamaro terrorism that was destroying the once peaceful country. In 1976, 1,500 Argentines were assassinated by Montonero and Trotskyite guerrillas, and the country's military takeover was greeted by many with relief.

The military quickly wore out its welcome in most countries after the terrorist threat was crushed, and as the military proved to be totally inept in economic management. But there are many countries whose regimes do not step down because of debt crisis or public disapproval. Haile Mengistu has not retired from power in Ethiopia, though his policies have led to famine. Fidel Castro still rules Cuba, though he has destroyed the economy of what once was one of the most prosperous nations in the hemisphere. By contrast, most of Latin America's non-Marxist regimes gradually stepped aside when they sensed that they were overwhelmingly not wanted.

A Swing of the Pendulum?

This is not the first democratic wave in Latin America.

SEVEN AGAINST THE HEMISPHERE

There are only seven exceptions to the democratic wave sweeping the hemisphere. Three are Marxist—Cuba, Nicaragua, and Guyana—and therefore unlikely to become democratic unless overthrown by force. No Marxist regime anywhere in the world has ever allowed free elections or evolved into a democracy voluntarily.

Fidel Castro promised elections when he ousted tyrant Fulgencio Batista in 1959. Instead he tossed his democratic co-revolutionaries such as Huber Matos and Armando Valladares in jail. Today the only elected Cubans are in the state of Florida.

The Sandinistas of Nicaragua also betrayed their promise to hold elections after overthrowing Anastasio Somoza in 1979. Their "elections" last year were as fraudulent as the many elections during the Somoza dynasty. Press censorship was so severe, and campaign restrictions were so tight, that the two leading opposition candidates, Arturo Cruz of Democratic Coordinating Board and Virgilio Godoy of the Independent Liberal Party, withdrew from the election. Carlos Andres Perez, vice president of the Socialist International and former president of Venezuela, was snubbed by the Sandinistas in his efforts to arrange an election compromise. He angrily boycotted the inauguration of President Daniel Ortega, as did the leaders of all Nicaragua's Central American neighbors.

Guyana has the dubious distinction of being the only English-speaking country in the hemisphere not to enjoy democracy or the rule of law. Its Marxist tyranny stands in marked contrast to Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Jamaica, St. Christopher-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Trinidad and Tobago, and now Grenada.

A fourth opponent of democracy is quasi-Marxist. Suriname's tyrant, Desire Bouterse, brought in Cuban advisers after seizing power in 1980, and expelled them in 1983 on the same day that the U.S. invaded Grenada. In December 1982, the nation's 15 top opposition leaders were rounded up and shot.

Chile, Haiti, and Paraguay are the only non-Marxist holdouts against democracy in the hemisphere. Chile is perhaps the most tragic case, for it has one of the longest democratic traditions of any country in the world. But today it is trapped between a brutal junta leader, Augusto Pinochet, and a large and well-organized Communist party that is in a good position to take over if he relaxes his grip. One of the biggest problems is the disunity among Chile's non-Communist opposition. Unlike the Peronists and Radicals of neighboring Argentina, they have been unable to agree on an anti-junta strategy for democratization. And unlike the non-Communist parties of Italy and Portugal, which also have large Communist parties, they have been unable to unite against the threat of a Marxist takeover. Thus Salvador Allende, the only Marxist in world history ever to be elected freely, was able to take power in 1970 with only 36 percent of the vote.

French-speaking Haiti, personal satrapy of Baby Doc Duvalier and the rampaging Tonton Macoutes, is culturally and linguistically isolated from the region. Its regime is a reflection of France's total lack of interest in the democratic development of its former colonies. Of all France's former possessions, only Senegal, Madagascar, Quebec, and Louisiana have free elections today.

Paraguay has been under a virtually uninterrupted state of siege since 1929, and has been run since 1954 by Alfredo Stroessner, one of the world's longest-ruling dictators. Together with Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, Mr. Stroessner is perhaps the last *caudillo* of Hispanic civilization, vestige of a vanishing breed of strongmen who have included Porfirio Diaz of Mexico, Juan Gomez of Venezuela, Batista of Cuba, Rafael Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, and the Somozas of Nicaragua, not to mention Francisco Franco of Spain. Most recent authoritarianism in Latin America has been of a completely different sort. It has been dominated by military bureaucracies that have usually limited the terms of individual officials and that have been much more willing than individual strongmen to relinquish power.

—A.M.

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Earlier ones occurred at the end of World War II, and again in the late 1950s. In the early 1960s, during John F. Kennedy's "Alliance for Progress," every country in South America was a democracy except Paraguay. But the "twilight of the tyrants," as it was then called, was short-lived: beginning with Bolivia and Brazil in 1964, the continent was swept by a wave of coups.

There are many who fear that the present democratization is just another swing of the pendulum, that the hemisphere's new democracies will be unable to maintain political support in the face of all the problems they face. Certainly there are grounds for uneasiness. Political killings in many countries—last year, there were 525 in Guatemala—may put a chill on genuine democratic debate. The drug traffic, and its empire of organized crime, threatens to poison the democracies of Colombia, Bolivia, and Jamaica. In El Salvador and Peru, Communist guerrillas could triumph. In Bolivia, inflation exceeds 100,000 percent.

Perhaps the greatest fear is that Latin America is in for a prolonged period of economic austerity, now that the go-go years of international lending are over. But democracy has shown enormous resilience during times of economic trouble. American democracy survived the Depression, Israeli democracy is surviving its present financial crisis, British democracy has endured throughout a century of relative decline. Venezuela's democracy is surviving the current austerity, and last year Ecuador peacefully transferred power between parties. One of the virtues of democracy is that you can toss out the rascals who are responsible for your economic mess. The armed forces of Latin America are so discredited in their economic management that they are not likely to be turned to for economic reasons. And Marxist economic models such as Cuba and Nicaragua can hardly look attractive.

There are two circumstances where the military might take over once again. One is if there is a return to political chaos or terrorism of 1960s and 1970s proportions. A second is if the military perceives a threat to itself as an institution. One of the most promising signs for the survival of democracy is that many of Latin America's new civilian rulers are taking pains not to carry out vendettas against the military. Argentina's Raul Alfonsin, for example, has been careful not to implicate the entire military in his effort to prosecute human rights violators of the 1970s.

Alexis de Tocqueville was a pessimist about the chances for democracy in Latin America. "The people dwelling in this beautiful half continent seem obdurately determined to tear out each other's guts; nothing can divert them from that objective. Exhaustion may induce momentary repose, repose the prelude to fresh frenzies. Contemplating their state of wretchedness alternating with bouts of crime, I am tempted to believe that for them despotism would be a blessing."

This has long been the region's reputation, but a new generation in Latin America is consciously trying to build stable democratic institutions. If its democratic renaissance endures, then Latin America can take its rightful place, together with Western Europe, North America, and Japan, as the guardian of the most cherished political values of Western civilization. ☎

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Moon's Planet

The Politics and Theology of the Unification Church

Dinesh D'Souza

Sun Myung Moon and his Unification Church do not, to put it mildly, enjoy a good reputation in this country. Not only does the Korean evangelist receive all the vilification reserved for people who imply that they are the messiah, but the "Moonies," as his followers are called, have been charged with "childsnatching" and "brainwashing" by the families of their converts. Unificationism has been put in the category of a cult, conjuring up phantasmagoric images of the Manson massacre and the Jonestown suicides. And Mr. Moon has been accused of exercising a totalitarian "mind control" over every aspect of his followers' lives—an impression reinforced by the mass marriage of 2,000 couples in Madison Square Garden in 1982, with each bride and groom hand-picked for the other by Mr. Moon himself.

All of which has put American conservatives in a rather uneasy position as Sun Myung Moon has come a-courting. The Unification Church has become a lavish funder of conservative causes. Through various affiliated organizations, it parlays an extraordinary portion of its income—derived in large part from the sale of flowers, ginseng tea, and religious curios—into anti-Communist publications, organizations, and conferences.

Its boldest investment is the *Washington Times,* which it founded in 1982 and which is rapidly becoming one of the most respected daily newpapers in the country. For years, American conservatives talked about starting a rival to the *Washington Post.* It took a Korean who speaks little English to actually put up the money. So far, the Unification Church has reportedly channeled nearly $120 million into the paper.

The *Times* still has a small circulation of about 100,000, and it has been plagued by myriad problems, including the difficulty of attracting advertising and the ugly resignation of its former editor, James Whelan, who alleged Moonie influence on the editorial operations of the paper. But the number of Moonies on the staff is dwindling, and the *Times* does not have a "Moonie perspective" on any issue. It is thoroughly secular, although it did editorialize against the procedures used to incarcerate Mr. Moon on charges of tax evasion, and it is drawing praise from journalists outside right-wing circles. Says *Newsweek* Washington bureau chief Morton Kondracke, "It's a serious paper with serious journalists working there. The *Times* often breaks news that other newspapers miss." William Cheshire, editorial page editor for the *Times,* says, "Conservatives clamor to write for us because we have influence in the White House, and we provide the only soapbox for them in Washington."

Conservative Dilemma

But Mr. Moon's interest in the press is not limited to the nation's capital. He also takes his anti-Communist message to communities that conservatives often neglect. *Noticias del Mundo,* published by the Unification Church for New York Hispanics, is one of the most vehemently anti-Castro, anti-Sandinista dailies in the Spanish language anywhere. Mr. Moon claims it is the largest Hispanic paper in New York; recently it opened a bureau in Los Angeles. The church also distributes the *Harlem Weekly* to 80,000 uptowners in Manhattan, most of them blacks. Mr. Moon owns the *Middle East Times,* a weekly published in Cyprus; *Ultimas Noticias,* a Uruguay daily; and *Sekai Nippo,* a daily in Japan.

Last November, a Moon organization, the World Media Association, paid the way of 700 journalists from 87 countries to a conference in Tokyo on press coverage of totalitarianism. Several conservative luminaries from the United States were present: William Rusher, publisher of *National Review,* former Interior Secretary James Watt, Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media, Cliff Kincaid of *Human Events,* and author Arnaud de Borchgrave. Also attending were more than 100 anti-Communist editors and writers from newspapers in the Third World, among them Luis Guillermo Angel, director of the Publishers Association in Colombia; Mustafa Naguib, chairman of the Cairò-based Middle East News Agency; and Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, editor of the beleaguered *La Prensa* in Nicaragua, who recently left the country rather than endure worsening Sandinista censorship. This year's me-

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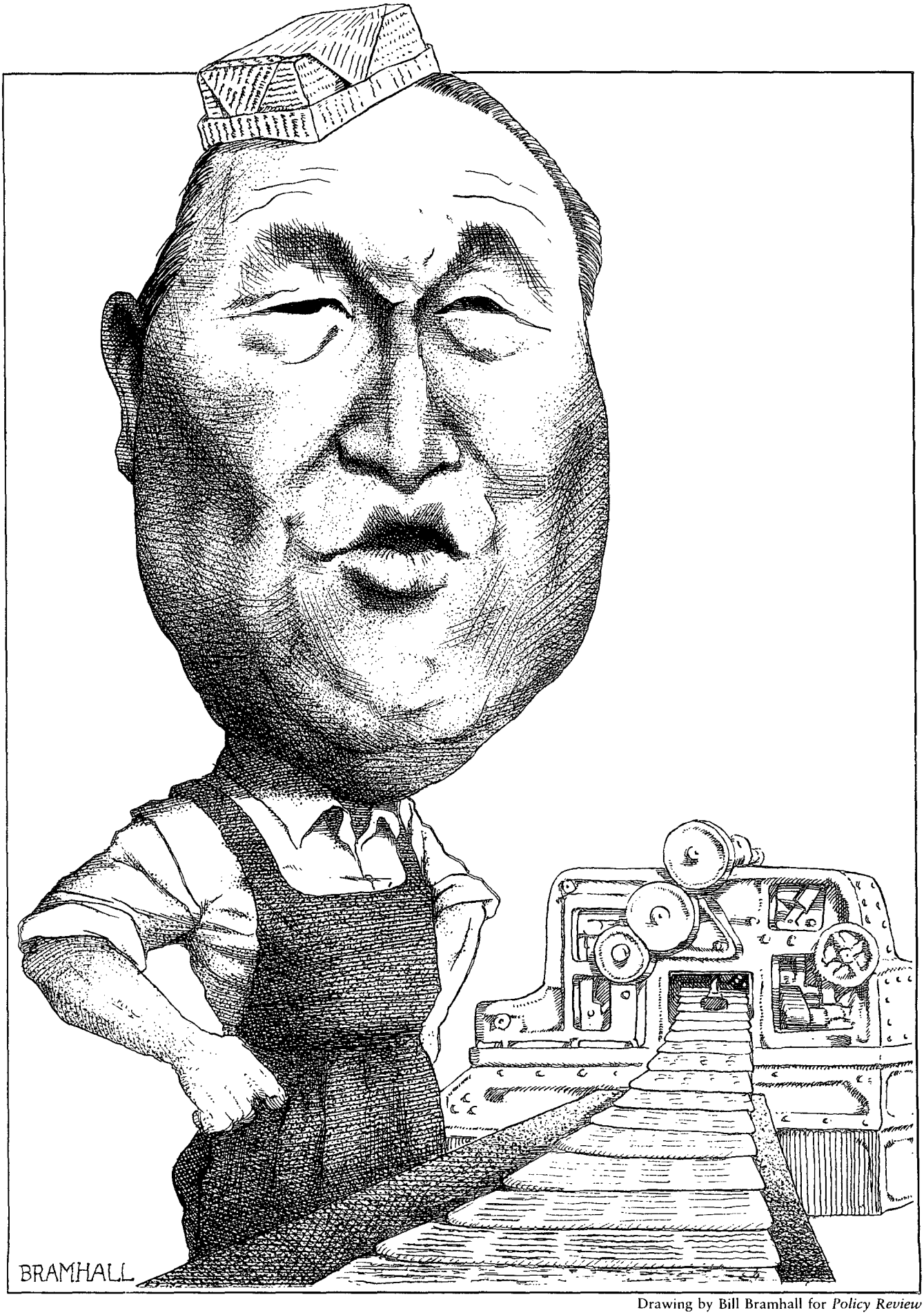

Drawing by Bill Bramhall for *Policy Review*

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dia conference is scheduled for October in Paris. Says Mr. Rusher, "The Unification Church seems to be the only organization actively encouraging anti-Communist and pro-American journalists in the developing world."

On Easter morning in 1936 . . . Moon claims that Christ appeared to him in a vision and told him that he was to take up the work that Christ was unable to successfully complete.

Recently Mr. Moon's Causa International made a $500,000 grant to the Conservative Alliance, headed by Terry Dolan, also of the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC). According to Tamara Davis, communications director for the Alliance, Mr. Dolan was aware of the public relations implications of taking Mr. Moon's money. "But there were no strings attached," Miss Davis told *Policy Review*. "They just felt that we were doing a good job opposing Communism. Of course we are not a Moonie organization and we don't endorse that theology. But we are not going to denounce them." If some of the Alliance's direct-mail contributors were alienated because of the Moon connection, then "so be it, we're very sorry," Miss Davis said. Other conservative groups have accepted smaller doses of Moon funds; some are still weighing the risks of doing so.

But a number of right-wing groups have resisted a Moon connection. Connaught Marshner, vice president of the Free Congress Research and Education Foundation and director of the National Pro-Family Coalition, says that neither of her organizations will accept Moon money. "There are two problems," she explains. "First, with Moon money there is the risk of Moon control, and second, regardless of whether there is this control, there is a perception that it exists. I'm involved in groups dealing with traditional family issues. We wouldn't want to have anything to do with someone viewed as so opposed to the traditional family. It's a prudential issue." Other conservatives keep their distance but are not willing to say so publicly. One reason is a reluctance to embarrass friends at the *Washington Times*.

Genesis and Exodus

According to *The Divine Principle*, the sacred text of the Unification Church, the messiah was born in Korea "somewhere between 1917 and 1930." Mr. Moon was born in northern Korea in 1920. His family converted to Presbyterianism when he was 10 years old. On Easter morning in 1936, when Mr. Moon was 16, he claims that Christ appeared to him in a vision and told him that he was to take up the work that Christ was unable to successfully complete. The next nine years were spent in "intense prayer and study," during which he received what he called "the teachings revealed by God." Mr. Moon's disciples later wrote these down as *The Divine Principle*, now required reading for his followers.

Mr. Moon joined Korean liberation forces at the end of World War II, and was taken prisoner, beaten, and tortured by the Japanese troops occupying his country. In 1948, he was clapped in a concentration camp and tortured once again, this time by North Korean Communists, after he had dared to move into Soviet-occupied territory to proselytize for his faith. Freed by United Nations troops in 1950, during the Korean War, Mr. Moon was determined to fight the ideology of his Communist captors, whom he considered the greatest threat to a God-centered view of the world.

He responded to his Japanese captivity by sending some of his apostles to Japan to spread his teachings. Mr. Moon has made a remarkable number of converts in Japan, a country of deep-seated prejudices against Koreans, and indeed one of his goals seems to be to overcome the hostilities between the Korean and Japanese people. He even encouraged intermarriage between his Korean and Japanese converts, just as now he tries to find American white males to marry female Korean church members. Cynics suggest these international couplings are aimed at surmounting immigration barriers. In 1954, Mr. Moon formally established the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity.

Novel Theology

Why he took the Christian name is enigmatic. There are certain surface parallels between the Unification and Christian understanding of the fall of man and his need for redemption by divine sacrifice. But even on these points there are sharp differences. In Mr. Moon's theology, the fall was the result of the angel Lucifer copulating with Eve, who then had sex with Adam to alleviate her guilt. As a result, "the elements of sin," as *The Divine Principle* puts it, were vertically transferred from Satan to Eve and horizontally transferred from Eve to Adam.

Thus there was the desperate need for man to repair his vertical relationship with God and his horizontal ties with his fellow human beings. Christ attempted this, according to Unification theology, but he was a "partial failure" because he was inadequately publicized by John the Baptist and prematurely crucified by the Jews. Although Christ did achieve spiritual redemption, mankind needs the help of a new messiah in gaining earthly salvation, an establishment of God's kingdom in the world.

But God's domain cannot be established without a fight; hence the need for world wars in the 20th century, as the end approaches. *The Divine Principle* says that history will see three world wars "in order for the world to meet the condition of having to overcome Satan's three temptations to Jesus." In the final war, the principles of good and evil, embodied in freedom and Communism respectively, will come into direct conflict. *The Divine Principle* calls for the free nations to put aside their divisions and prepare for this battle, because only after

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their victory can there be established "the ideal world of cosmic ideology."

From this synopsis, several features of Mr. Moon's theology should be clear. It is millenarian, in that it prophesies the end of the world, in its current sinful shape, and the establishment of a divinely ordered kingdom. It parallels the social gospel of liberal Protestantism, paying little or no attention to the afterlife and tirelessly striving to "establish the kingdom of heaven on earth," as *The Divine Principle* states. It is, in some sense, gnostic, because it lays claim to a special gnosis or wisdom that is not commonly obtained but only revealed to a select few—and in its purest form to a select one, Mr. Moon himself. Finally it is Manichean, in that it divides everything into absolute good and absolute evil, seeing no continuum between the two.

The absolute evil of the world, according to Mr. Moon, is embodied in Communism, which is "the ideology of Satan." Communism explicitly denies God's existence, and erects false categories of the bourgeois and the proletariat, which are then set against each other. This division goes against Mr. Moon's goal, which is to break down barriers, the "unification" of diverse groups. Church theologians concede that part of their founder's anti-Communism springs from his treatment in the labor camps. But this torture was the direct result of his preaching the gospel, they say; his fundamental objection to Communism is theological. Larry Moffitt, director of the World Media Association and a Moonie for 10 years, says he believes "the bloodthirstiness of Communism rises from its atheism."

Mr. Moon gives novel biblical treatment to Communism in his homilies. He is fond of citing the incident of the two thieves crucified on either side of Christ. The one on the left mocked and reviled him, while the one on the right defended him. "At this moment," Mr. Moon says, "the seed was sown by the left-hand thief that the God-denying world would come into being—the Communist world today. And the seed for the existence of a God-fearing world was sown by the thief on the right-hand side. The free world is in the position of the thief on the right." Mr. Moon says this is the "providential reason" for the modern political usage of the terms "left" and "right."

East Meets West

Communism's main target in recent decades, Mr. Moon says, is the United States. The reason is simple—America is God's chosen land, the New Jerusalem. "I know clearly that the will of God is centered upon America," he declared in a 1974 speech. He proclaimed in a bicentennial address in 1976 at New York's Yankee Stadium, "America is God's final bulwark on earth. But the God-denying Communism has risen up and is ready to undertake an all-out offensive against the free world. Destroying America is the Communists' final goal. More than anything else, this is a test of whether America will stand or fall in God's eyes."

The reason God chose America, Unification Church members say, is because He foresaw that, as the center of wealth and culture in the world, the United States would be appetizing prey for the Communist bear. But those resources were also ample enough to resist Soviet aggression. "In 200 years America has gone from a barbarian land to a great civilization," says Sarah Witt, public relations director of the Unification Theological Seminary in Barrytown, New York. "God allowed this to happen so that America would fulfill her special mission, to fight and defeat the Communist threat." Mr. Moon seems to idealize an early 20th century concept of America, when it confidently sowed democracy around the world and used the scythe on totalitarianism. In a recent "Letter From Prison," Mr. Moon tells his people, "We must give America to the rest of the world as the champion of God. When America helped others, and sent missionaries and aid to starving people, she enjoyed her golden age. Confrontation with Communism could then be done from a position of strength.

The absolute evil of the world, according to Mr. Moon, is embodied in Communism, which is "the ideology of Satan."

"But today America is retreating," he warns. This is not only the result of Communist conquests but also of internal moral corrosion. "To fight Satan we need not only guns, but also moral leadership," says Larry Moffitt. But he and the other Moonies complain about the drug epidemic, promiscuity, sex and violence on television, lack of discipline in the schools. Mr. Moon has taken it upon himself, they say, to shore up American morality, and morale. Even though he is a foreigner, he is needed because America is unable, by itself, to resist internal and external threats. "If your home catches on fire, do you not need firefighters from outside?" Mr. Moon once asked. "God has sent me to America in the role of a firefighter." In 1973, Mr. Moon sponsored rallies in favor of President Nixon in cities across America. He wasn't asserting Mr. Nixon's innocence, but he feared that Watergate would undermine the self-confidence of the United States to resist outside aggression. He has also called demonstrations against pornography in New York and San Francisco.

On domestic issues, the views of the Unification Church might cause discomfort for conservatives primarily concerned with individual liberty. The church offers its followers a collectivistic, communal alternative to the individualism, selfishness, and atomization of American society. Even salvation is not individual but corporate. In a 1977 interview Mr. Moon said, "Our movement stresses the salvation of the world as the primary goal. Personal salvation is secondary. We are willing to sacrifice ourselves for the sake of the world and humanity. By contrast, many conventional churchgoers are concerned about their own places in heaven."

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How Mr. Moon's communal sentiments translate into concrete policy objectives is not clear. He does believe in a sort of macro-politics. "The well-being of the family should come before the individual," Mr. Moon said in one address. "The nation should come before the family. The world should come before the nation. And God should come before the world." It would seem that socialism would attract a preacher with this hierarchy of preferences, and indeed *The Divine Principle* says, "There will have to come ultimately a socialistic society centering on God." Mr. Moon's supporters play down this text and say they support free enterprise because it strengthens family and communal ties.

Moonies are naturally offended at the suggestion that they are not in control of their minds.

But the Unification Church has its share of socialists. Sarah Witt of the Unification Seminary is one of them. "I favor a God-centered socialism," she told *Policy Review*. Her vision is one of an "American utopia" staffed by "an industrial army of workers" each of whom would get a "basic allowance." Miss Witt says, "People shouldn't work for a profit motive, but for the good of society as a whole." She blames the Soviet Union with wiping out "successful socialist communes" because "they don't want to let a socialist group under God survive." Miss Witt is speaking for herself, not the church, but Mr. Moon himself frequently denounces materialism and self-interest and Unification theology does not appear hospitable to laissez-faire capitalism. In fact, one reason for Moon's opposition to Communism is that it is thoroughly materialistic.

Another potential area of tension between Mr. Moon and conservatives might arise over American patriotism. Despite his current stress on America, Mr. Moon dislikes the idea of national boundaries; he is ultimately an internationalist. He envisions what church brochures call "a world of brotherhood" which maintains "unity under God." To this end, in 1972 Mr. Moon organized an ominous-sounding One World Crusade "to provide the conditions for society's emergence into a world unified civilization, through the use of *The Divine Principle* ideology." The Crusade employs mobile units of scientists and propagandists who travel around the world to promote the Crusade.

Again, Unification Church officials insist that their One World idealism does not imply support for socialist groups which use similar rhetoric or even for the apotheosis of internationalist ideology, the United Nations. One writer for the *Washington Times* says that Mr. Moon's One World talk is simply intended to galvanize his church members, each of whom is charged with the conversion of 360 families, with a view to persuading the whole world to accept Unification ideals in a reasonably short period of time.

Moon's Earthly Empire

It is impossible to dismiss out of hand the various accusations leveled against the Unification Church. One uncontested charge is that Mr. Moon has several hundred full-time vendors who sell flowers in the streets for almost no wages. It is estimated that, on average, each of the flower sellers takes in $75–$100 per day, which is then turned over to the Unification Church. Critics have called Mr. Moon a "slaveholder" who forces his disciples to work long hours at a sub-minimum wage. But naturally that turns on the larger question: what element of coercion is there in the Unification Church? Are the flower sellers simply spreading love and donating their earnings to God's cause, or are they frightened souls under a tyrant's spell?

Numerous ex-Moonies have written books alleging they were "brainwashed." The literature on the Unification Church is full of lurid tales of forced conversion, sexual enslavement, and all sorts of intrigue allegedly practised by Mr. Moon. These charges inflame church officials, who point out that at no time are drugs or alcohol permitted on church facilities, and that anybody is free to leave the church at any time. Only about 10 percent of those visiting the church actually join, they say, and many leave after a few months of involvement. Moonies are naturally offended at the suggestion that they are not in control of their minds. "Though we ourselves take the religious impulse to be the central impulse of life, society for the most part disbelieves that this can truly be our motivation," complains Mose Durst, president of the Unification Church in America. Of one anti-Moon parent, Mr. Durst writes, "She never mentions the drugs, alcohol abuse, or sexual promiscuity that filled her son's life before he became a member of our church. Rather, she talks about how frightened she became when he started praying in the morning, when he got a job, and when he started acting like a responsible citizen."

A number of civil libertarians have rallied to Mr. Moon's side on the brainwashing issue. Jeremiah Gutman, president of the New York Civil Liberties Union, says that it is unfair to conclude that a young person has no control of his faculties just because he has decided to join the Moonies. "Brainwashing is a term for a process of persuasion with which one disagrees," Mr. Gutman told *Policy Review*. By the same token, Sunday schools brainwash children, he suggested, by subjecting them to a controlled atmosphere. Mr. Gutman went further: he called the Unification Church "much maligned" and said that Mr. Moon and the church members he had met struck him as "intelligent, sincere, and devoted people."

Yet even Moonies acknowledge that there is quite a bit of coercion involved in getting recruits and keeping them. There is an entire vocabulary of euphemisms to describe this process. Potential converts are lured to church facilities usually with vague promises of finding the truth, seeing the light, discovering a new way of life. Mr.

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Moon's name is almost never mentioned. At the church, these searching souls are "love-bombed"—subjected to profuse and constant attention and coddling by the Moonie "brothers" and "sisters." This tactic, of overwhelming a target with affection, is always used when someone is thinking about leaving the church.

Conversion to the Unification Church often occurs after the person is subjected to a spiritual bombardment aimed at wearing down the mind and body. In the morning, the potential convert is roused by a "Red Robin," the Moonie in charge of waking him up. At no time in the day is he allowed to "space," or daydream. He is warned about "sleepy spirits" that supposedly try to send brothers and sisters to sleep during the day, especially during lectures. These lectures can be long and repetitive, interrupted only by familiar music, spartan diets, and conversations with the "spiritual child" or convert by the "restorer" or person who brought him into the church. It is not hard to see how the combined effect of sleep deprivation, controlled diets, a drumbeat of music and lectures, and love-bombing would break the defenses of an unwary individual—and bring about the "total commitment" that is guaranteed to bring physical and spiritual bliss.

Strange Bedfellows

Yet civil libertarians are right to point out that there is a fine line between "being brainwashed" and "discovering the truth," and who is to say that this sort of control is not what the Moon convert was looking for in the first place? Many were lost souls, without anything to believe in, often former drug addicts and freaks who would have nowhere to go were it not for Mr. Moon's church. They were the neglected children of the 1960s and 1970s, and many of them experimented with Hare Krishna, Transcendental Meditation, Divine Light Mission, and other cults. Their faith in the Unification Church may in large part be a surrogate for lost faith in themselves. Some of the more contentious Moonies answer their critics by wearing T-shirts saying "I am a Moonie and I love it" and "Brainwashed Zombie."

What about Mr. Moon's mass marriages? To the general public, they don't speak well of the autonomy of mind of Unification Church members, who seem to blithely acquiesce in Mr. Moon's selection of their partners for life. There have also been charges that Mr. Moon primes women for the challenge of matrimony by sleeping with them. One ex-Moonie wrote a book charging that Mr. Moon justifies his intercourse with church members by telling them that he must purify them of the spiritual pollution they inherited from Eve. But from all indications, Mr. Moon and church leaders are quite ascetic. They have always discouraged and proscribed hard liquor, marijuana, sexual promiscuity, and even cigarettes.

Church officials point out that arranged marriages, though strange to the Western eye, are commonplace in Oriental countries. Yet there is a difference between parents picking their children's mate, after taking into account the disposition of the two people, and Mr. Moon matching couples whose background he knows nothing about. Larry Moffitt of World Media Association was married "with 4,000 of my closest friends" in Madison Square Garden in July 1982. He had been engaged to the woman for three years. Mr. Moon paired them at random, he said. After asking which Western men would like to marry Oriental girls, Mr. Moon simply called forth one from each group, and sent them into a room to discuss their forthcoming union. Despite this unusual procedure, said Mr. Moffitt, "It was easy for me to trust Moon because I believe that God works through him. So it was God, really, who picked my wife."

> Even Moonies acknowledge that there is quite a bit of coercion involved in getting recruits and keeping them.

Compared with most marriages in America today, Moonie marriages seem to work rather well. This is not too hard to understand: husband and wife have an entire worldview in common, and the critical resistance that Moon families experience from the outside world often brings them together and solidifies their commitment. Moreover, Unification theology places so much emphasis on the sanctity of the family that it would be almost heretical for Moonies to divorce; they would never be as fully accepted by other church members. Ironically, Mr. Moon himself has been married twice; his first wife was completely opposed to his newly discovered faith.

Messiah Behind Bars

Mr. Moon is currently in a white-collar prison in Danbury, Connecticut, for failing to report $162,000 in income between 1973 and 1975 on his federal tax return. He claims that the money did not belong to him but to his church, which is tax exempt. The Internal Revenue Service disagreed, and so did a jury that sentenced him to 18 months in the penitentiary.

But it seems unlikely that Mr. Moon would attempt to dodge taxes on as small an amount as $162,000; his tax liability, as a church official suggested, could be handled by "half an hour of fundraising" by his dedicated flower sellers on the streets of major cities. Also, it is fairly common practice for religious groups to deposit money in the account of the church leaders; indeed, the Catholic Church places diocesan funds in the name of the individual bishop. Mr. Moon seems to have been singled out for juggling money between his pocket and church, yet other religious denominations were sufficiently alarmed that virtually all of them—from the Mormons to the National Association of Evangelicals to the Catholic Church—filed *amicus* briefs on his behalf during the tax hearings. Even the American Civil Liberties Union joined Mr. Moon's "religious freedom" struggle.

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Although Christian groups have defended Mr. Moon's religious freedom, they have repudiated his claim to be behind the "unification of world Christianity." In 1977, the National Council of Churches (NCC) commissioned a study by an inter-denominational group of theologians which concluded, "The Unification Church is not a Christian Church" and its teachings "are incompatible with Christian teaching and belief." In particular, the NCC report faulted Mr. Moon's beliefs that "adultery is the root of all sin" and that Christ is not God.

The Moonies have also been accused of anti-Semitism by Jewish groups who worry that passages in *The Divine Principle* hold the Jewish people responsible for the crucifixion of Christ. Rabbi James Rudin of the American Jewish Committee prepared a report in 1976 which accused the Unification Church of "seeking to reinfect the spiritual bloodstream of mankind with its cancerous version of contempt for Jews and Judaism." Unlike Christian theology, which holds that Christ's death was necessary for the salvation of man, Unification theology holds that the crucifixion interrupted Christ's mission. "If Jews had recognized Christ as the messiah, he wouldn't have died," remarks Noah Ross, a spokesman for the Unification Church. Yet Mr. Ross says that "Humanity as a whole failed Jesus."

Spreading the Light

Enrollment in the Unification Church was steady through the 1960s and accelerated during the 1970s, though in 1981 researchers David Bromley and Anson Shupe reported in *Moonies in America,* "The 1960s were characterized by a relatively long conversion time and a low rate of apostasy, while the 1970s saw rapid conversion but high rates of defection after a year or so of involvement." American Unificationism also took different forms in the 1970s. East Coast Moonies adhered to the letter and spirit of *The Divine Principle,* and their temperment was rigid and puritanical, while the West Coast Moonies seemed to practice a California-style religion combining an eclectic use of *The Divine Principle* with generous dollops of psychology, meaningfulness, relevance, and self-fulfillment. The current membership of the church in the United States is about 10,000; worldwide it is estimated at 50,000; but church officials boast of three million "affiliated members."

My only experience with a Moonie before this article was with Carol Bechtel, editorial page editor of the *New York City Tribune,* another church-owned newspaper. She wanted to publish some of my writing, and invited me to lunch. I was a bit surprised to see armed guards and walkie-talkies all over the ground floor of the *Tribune,* but Mrs. Bechtel assured me that all the security measures were necessary because "Communists are trying to infiltrate the building." In fact, she said she would not be at all surprised if there were already of couple of Soviet moles.

Mrs. Bechtel was raised Catholic, she told me, but she had a lot of unanswered questions about the church. The doctrine of transubstantiation she found particularly baffling. So she dabbled in Oriental religions, searching for the truth, until a friend told her about this group that had all the answers. Now she has been a Moonie for 12 years, and joined the *Tribune* at its founding in 1976. Her only qualification for being editorial editor is that she was a high school teacher before joining the Unification Church.

I asked Mrs. Bechtel what was Mr. Moon's purpose in publishing newspapers which did not reflect his theology; she said Mr. Moon's purpose was not to help his theology, but to help America. Defending the regulated church milieu, she said, "There has to be a disciplined atmosphere if there is to be spiritual growth." Yet "We don't brainwash people. If we could, our church membership would be in the millions." Mrs. Bechtel's husband was picked for her by Mr. Moon, but she trusted his choice, she said, because he had a "sixth sense" which enabled him "to see back in time to our ancestors, and to see ahead the children who will be born" out of such a union. Toward the end of our luncheon, Mrs. Bechtel produced playing cards with diagrams of hands and feet with various pressure points that correlated with parts of the body. If one had a heart condition, one was to apply pressure to such-and-such vital spot on the foot, she explained. This was all a bit too weird for me and yet, in her political discussions, Mrs. Bechtel seemed quite perceptive and well-informed.

The Unification Church is involved in intellectual as well as political ventures. Most recently it founded a book publishing company, Paragon House, that will publish no theology—just scholarly tracts on social and political issues. Serving on the editorial board are professors from Harvard, Yale, Oxford, and Columbia.

Mr. Moon seems deeply concerned about what he considers the over-specialization of the sciences; they have become detached from each other and from absolute values. Attempting "the unification of the sciences," his groups have organized interdisciplinary scientific conferences around the world for several years in a row. Mr. Moon makes no attempt to control the agenda or remarks at these meetings; Eugene Wigner, a Nobel laureate in physics who has attended five of these conferences, says they are distinguished by the freedom and flexibility they allow, compared to conferences held by the various scientific associations. "I was always struck by the intellectual value of the conferences, by the excellent participants, and by how professionally everything was conducted," Mr. Wigner told *Policy Review.*

America is home to many religions that originally attracted hostility but have since gained comfortable respectability. The once polygamous Mormons were chased across the country in the first half of the 19th century, but today they are admired for their charity, good citizenship, and pioneering spirit. The Christian Scientists aroused suspicions with their shunning of medicine, but today they are pillars of Boston and publish a very respectable newspaper. In these examples, the Unification Church finds hope. ☎

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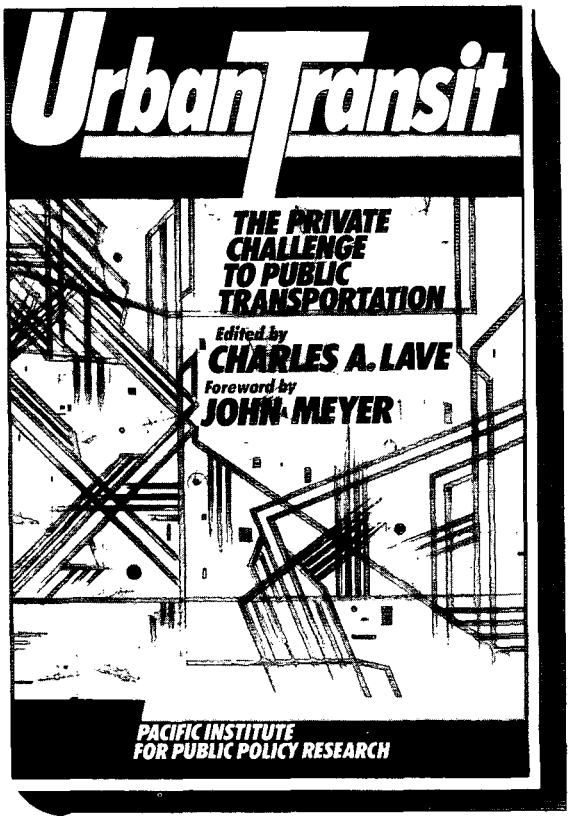

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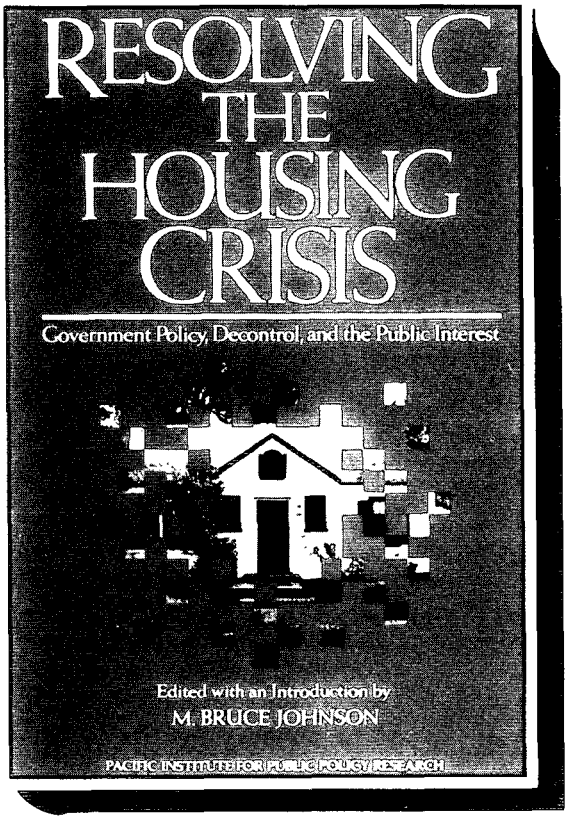
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Government Policy, Decontrol, and the Public Interest
Edited with an Introduction by
M. BRUCE JOHNSON
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The Big Chill

A Report Card on Campus Censorship

David Brock

Twenty years ago, 800 students staged a sit-in at the administration building of the University of California at Berkeley. They called themselves the "free speech movement," and they demanded the right to canvas for political causes on the campus's Sproul Plaza. Their protest ushered in nearly a decade of New Left demonstrations across America.

But the ideological heirs of the free speech movement soon trampled on the ideals they were supposed to cherish, and liberty of expression disappeared from many of the nation's campuses. Even today, despite a swing toward conservatism among young people, left-wing bullies at many colleges and universities are preventing dozens of speakers from expressing their views. What follow are but a few examples of recent censorship.

Ballooning Problem

In February 1983, U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, came to the Berkeley campus to deliver the Jefferson Lectures, an annual series of addresses by major scholars on historical aspects of American political values. As soon as Mrs. Kirkpatrick appeared on the podium, she became the target of loud heckling, jeering, and insults by campus rowdies, many of whom paraded around the auditorium dressed as skeletons. The demonstrators had planned in advance to interrupt Mrs. Kirkpatrick repeatedly, chanting "40,000 dead" each time she mentioned El Salvador, "apartheid" when she said South Africa. They passed out balloons to some in the audience, who squeezed the air out of them each time Mrs. Kirkpatrick opened her mouth. Though the protest was well advertised throughout the campus, there was little security in the auditorium. In fact, the crowd got so unruly that the moderator, Law School Dean Jesse Choper, plunged into the audience shouting, "You children should be ashamed of yourselves." Unable to make herself heard, Mrs. Kirkpatrick left the stage, returned to finish, then cancelled a speech scheduled for the next day after the Berkeley administration warned her that the next time might be worse.

The Berkeley incident was only the first of several trying experiences for Mrs. Kirkpatrick in the spring of 1983. In March, she was greeted with Nazi banners and heckled throughout her speech at the University of Minnesota. In May, she was to deliver the commencement address and receive an honorary degree at Smith College, but a protest movement began among some students and a sizeable number of faculty. Smith President Jill Conway informed Mrs. Kirkpatrick that she could not guarantee order at the ceremony, so Mrs. Kirkpatrick cancelled.

During the same period, meetings and petitions deterred Mrs. Kirkpatrick from appearing and accepting a degree that had been awarded her by the trustees of Barnard College. Barnard President Ellen Futter was clearly alarmed: "Colleges and universities, as the very keepers of freedom of speech and expression must err, if at all, on the side of their protection. If we must choose, then, our doors should be too widely open, not too tightly shut."

Red Stains

The American Association of University Professors was greatly disturbed by the Kirkpatrick incidents, and said in a May 1983 report, "As members of the academic community, we have the additional obligation to maintain academic freedom on our campuses, no less so when attempts to suppress this freedom come from members of our own ranks." This past fall, Harvard President Derek C. Bok said, "Free speech is so important to the mission of a university that it should take precedence over all other considerations, such as whether a speech is racist, sexist, or otherwise offensive."

Mr. Bok was commenting on two recent incidents at the Harvard Law School, particularly the brouhaha surrounding a speech by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger in November 1983. Students hurled insults at Mr. Weinberger, unfurled a banner calling him a "war criminal," displayed red-stained sheets bearing the names of Central American countries, and hung an American flag upside down in the auditorium. Mr. Weinberger was

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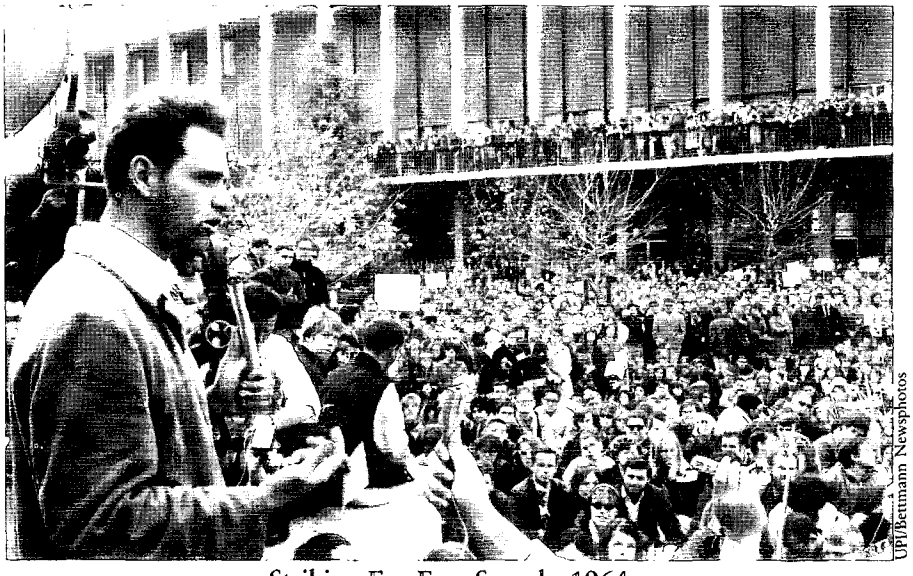
repeatedly prevented from speaking, and when the forum moderator tried to restore order, some students shouted, "How can we respect a mass murderer?"

Free speech was suppressed once again at Harvard in April 1984, when the moderator of a panel sponsored by the Black Law Students Association, Mohammed I. Kenyatta, refused to allow members of the Jewish Law Students Association to question a representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.


UPI/Bettmann Newsphotos

Striking For Free Speech, 1964

Current and former government officials seem to have the toughest time getting a fair hearing on the nation's campuses. In May 1984, left-wing demonstrators at the University of Colorado flung containers of blood at former Secretary of State Alexander Haig. Henry Kissinger cancelled his keynote address to the 50th anniversary commemoration at Tufts' Fletcher School of Diplomacy in April 1984, because of a threat of disruption by campus protesters. Mr. Kissinger, who had faced a "People's Tribunal" when he attempted to speak at the University of Minnesota the previous month, said that leaflets distributed by Tufts protest organizers "contained a level of abuse compatible only with the desire to produce confrontation rather than serious dialogue." After Mr. Kissinger's cancellation, one student told the Tufts campus newspaper that it was "a major victory for those who support a foreign policy based on negotiations, peace, and justice."

This past October, President Reagan encountered the worst heckling of his presidency as he tried to speak to students at the University of Portland through constant jeering. The demonstrators, who shouted "We don't want your war in Central America," prevented much of the audience from hearing the President's address.

Similarly, Walter Mondale was taunted and shouted down at the University of Southern California. The two vice-presidential nominees were also hounded by hecklers last fall—Geraldine Ferraro at the University of Texas and George Bush at the University of Vermont. Phyllis Schlafly, the president and founder of Eagle Forum, was jeered at an appearance at the University of Iowa in March 1983. The late Representative Larry McDonald of Georgia was thwarted from making a presentation at American University in November 1982 by radical hecklers, many of whom were members of the campus Marxist organization, Latin American-North American Solidarity. "It's always good to be back at American University," Mr. McDonald shouted over cries of "racist, racist" from the left-wing taunters. "You have seen a very vivid demonstration of what will happen to your civil liberties if this segment of the population takes power," he told the audience.

Eldridge Cleaver, the former Black Panther who now extols the virtues of democracy and capitalism and is a sharp critic of the Soviet Union, was prevented from giving a speech at Berkeley by demonstrators in May 1982. In March 1983, he was also repeatedly disrupted during a speech at the University of Minnesota. And Duane T. Gish, a proponent of creationism, was shouted down by students and faculty members at an April 1982 appearance at Berkeley. Some professors, incensed by Mr. Gish's critique of evolution, stormed onto the stage carrying skulls and shouting, "This is your ancestor." "The spirited opposition by scientists and students in the audience often drowned out the speaker's words," the *Daily Californian* reported. Said Mr. Gish: "No one had a desire to learn anything."

Expulsion of Eden

Dozens of lesser known speakers are victims of left-wing censors every month at major American universities. The current targets of the radical left are those who support the more assertive U.S. role in Central America advocated by the Reagan Administration.

In April 1984, two students, Nicaraguan exile Alvaro Montalvan and Costa Rican Alvaro Baldizon, were vociferously badgered and disrupted at the University of Massachusetts as they tried to speak about violations of human rights in Central America. Problems started early when the Student Government Association, prompted by a socialist student group, unsuccessfully attempted to prevent the Central American students' appearance by double-booking the room reserved for them. When the students did appear, they were repeatedly disrupted by a group of 60 demonstrators who staged a mock guerrilla war with plastic guns. The protesters, some with fake blood on their faces, held "CIA out of Nicaragua" and "FSLN" signs and shouted boos and leftist slogans. As the protesters grew increasingly contentious, the speakers left the auditorium and cancelled an appearance the next day at Amherst College, nervous about more threats of disruption.

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Jeane Kirkpatrick: Silenced at Berkeley

At the State University of New York at Albany, the two Central Americans say they were spotted outside the entrance to the auditorium where they were to speak, and chased off the campus by a small group of students who shouted "There is the CIA agent—let's hang him," and "We have guns, do you?" Mr. Montalvan encountered little better from left-wing extremists here than he had in Nicaragua, where his house was burned down for expressing views contrary to the Sandinista government's. He was extremely "shaken up" by the incident, according to an internal report on "ousting incidents" by the National Center on Public Policy Research, which sponsored the tour. Amy Moritz, the executive director of the Center, noted that on the Albany campus, about 300 people waited in the auditorium to hear the presentation. At the University of Massachusetts, some members of the audience had a heated exchange with the protesters. Said Louis Leopold, quoted in the *Massachusetts Daily Collegian:* "I came to hear the other side. Your idea of free speech is sick." Frequently large crowds show up to hear speakers, but they are denied the opportunity by small bands of militants.

In November 1983, Eden Pastora, the Sandinista revolutionary hero who is now the leader of the *contras,* tried to give a speech at Columbia University. He was "systematically disrupted with whistles and shouts. He had to scream to be heard," said Sam Schub of Young Social Democrats, which sponsored the talk. Arnesto Rivas, the Salvadoran Ambassador to the United States, was hooted off the stage as he attempted to speak at American University in favor of U.S. aid to El Salvador. The Catholic University newspaper, the *Eagle,* reported: "Students barraged the stage with outbursts of screaming and political slogans. The panel turned into a marathon exchange of vulgar insults."

Last October, on the first anniversary of the U.S. intervention in Grenada, several students who had been rescued were harassed and disrupted during campus appearances. For example, Ruth Brandau was heckled at Ithaca College as she appeared on stage with H. Sam McNeil, a New York state assemblyman. "They were wearing peculiar uniforms and carrying spears," recalls Mr. McNeil. "It didn't get too bad because we had security—strong authority—to keep it under control. But it was disturbing."

At Georgetown University in March 1984, a forum featuring Roberto D'Aubuisson, a right-wing Salvadoran politician, was cancelled when the Georgetown administration made a last-minute demand of the Young Americans for Freedom, the forum sponsor: pay $500 for additional security because of threats from the Georgetown Progressive Students Association, or cancel the forum. The forum was cancelled. (Members of conservative groups report that university administrators are generally quite uncooperative in providing security for conservative speakers.) When Mr. D'Aubuisson did appear in December at Georgetown, the audience "could hardly hear him," said Steve Baldwin, of Students for a Better America. "To get in, you had to cross a gauntlet of leftists who spit at you and called you a fascist." Inside the auditorium, protesters shouted and threw themselves in front of television cameras to prevent reporting of the event.

CampusSpeak

Mr. Baldwin's group used to monitor these disruptions, but now, he says, "these incidents are so common we don't even raise an eyebrow."

In addition to the Central America protests, the past few months have also seen a resurgence of small but determined anti-military and CIA demonstrations on many of the nation's campuses, incidents that hark back to the days of the 1960s and early 1970s when military speakers were routinely chased off campuses. Now, as then, the protesters are rarely silenced or punished.

In December 1984, Brown University students repeatedly interrupted a program presented by two CIA representatives. A few minutes into the presentation, a student blew a whistle and half of those in the room stood up and declared a symbolic "citizens' arrest." The recruiters fled the room as a student read a list of "charges" against the CIA. The administration threatened the students with suspension, but put them on "disciplinary probation," essentially a slap on the wrist. Similar protests prevented lectures or recruitment sessions by military or CIA representatives at Tufts University, the University of Massachusetts, and the University of Michigan, among others.

Some faculty members and boards of trustees have been critical of university administrations for failing to crack down on the student protesters who threaten or actually disrupt speakers. At Berkeley, the faculty Senate and the Board of Regents passed resolutions deploring

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the conduct of the students in the Kirkpatrick incident and some regents questioned the ability of the chancellor, Ira Michael Heyman, to ensure that free speech prevails on the campus.

"It is important," says John H. Bunzel, a member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, "not only that free speech be guaranteed, but also that it is made clear that those who hijack the campuses—hold them ransom for some particular cause —will be punished."

The Harvard Crimson/Hisham I. Youseff

Caspar Weinberger: Silenced at Harvard

Most of the time, however, they are not. "Administrators have consistently refused to discipline the student left," said Mike Boos, the program director of the Young America's Foundation, which sponsors conservative speakers on campuses. "Their right to protest is often held above the right of the audience to hear." Indeed, the free speech issue is often perverted by the left, which maintains that taunters are expressing their free speech rights, though it means denying the rights of the speaker and the audience.

Freedom Held Hostage

College administrations point out that it is difficult to identify a few hecklers in a large audience, and that many of the hecklers are not students. According to Mr. Baldwin, "Some of the protesters don't look young enough to be students. They're community activist hippie-types." Mr. Schub said the protesters are members of "main-line campus liberal groups" or members of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), a national left-wing group that organizes demonstrations against Administration policy in Central America.

According to Mr. Bunzel, university administrations must bear the ultimate responsibility for guaranteeing the right to free speech, but the faculty must also "generate the spirit of academic freedom by extending the right of free speech, which they insist upon for themselves, to others who have a legitimate right to speak on the campus."

Some contend that the left-wing sympathies of university faculties preclude the necessary support for unfettered speech. Philosopher Sidney Hook, who has written widely on academic freedom issues, says, "There is evidence that on some campuses members of the faculty who agree with the positions of the student disrupters give them moral support and encouragement by becoming the chief agitators for amnesty from administrative discipline." Mr. Hook also criticizes more conservative faculty members for "not showing the public zeal to counteract the actions of the militant faculty."

The result, suggests Mr. Hook, is that "a host of speakers think twice about accepting invitations to speak . . . and every successful disruption increases the likelihood of self-censorship on the part of the faculty—not inviting those who may be regarded as objectionable to the fascist left." At Berkeley, for example, in the two years since the Kirkpatrick incident, no conservative speaker has attempted to appear. English professor Peter Dale Scott bemoans the "chilling effect" the incident has had on the campus.

According to some faculty members, campuses are held hostage today by the concessions university administrators made to left-wing students in the 1960s and early 1970s. Such figures as McGeorge Bundy, George C. Wallace, William Rogers, Arthur Jensen, and William Rusher were repeatedly disrupted and harassed at some of the nation's most prominent universities, including Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Stanford, and most major public institutions.

The failure of university officials to discipline students and to defend forthrightly academic freedom gave the left an implicit veto over campus events. The phenomenon was not as obvious during the post-Vietnam years, a relatively apolitical time, but arose again with the election of President Reagan in 1980.

"Without any doubt," says Berkeley political science professor Paul Seabury, "the threat to free speech on college campuses started with the free speech movement, as George Orwell would have noted." The free speech movement and other student protest movements were "the beginning of the imposition of the current invasion of free speech. Student radicals took it upon themselves to decide who would be heard on campuses."

There is no liberty of expression today on Sproul Plaza, the site of the free speech movement agitation 20 years ago. In January 1985, a group of 50 left-wing protesters encircled an ROTC recruitment table on Sproul, chanting slogans such as "Recruiters lie, Marines die." According to Guillermo Bermudez, a member of the Spartacus Youth League, the group intended to "drive the Marines off campus." After about 30 minutes of loud jeering and harassment, the two recruiters folded up their tables and quietly surrendered.

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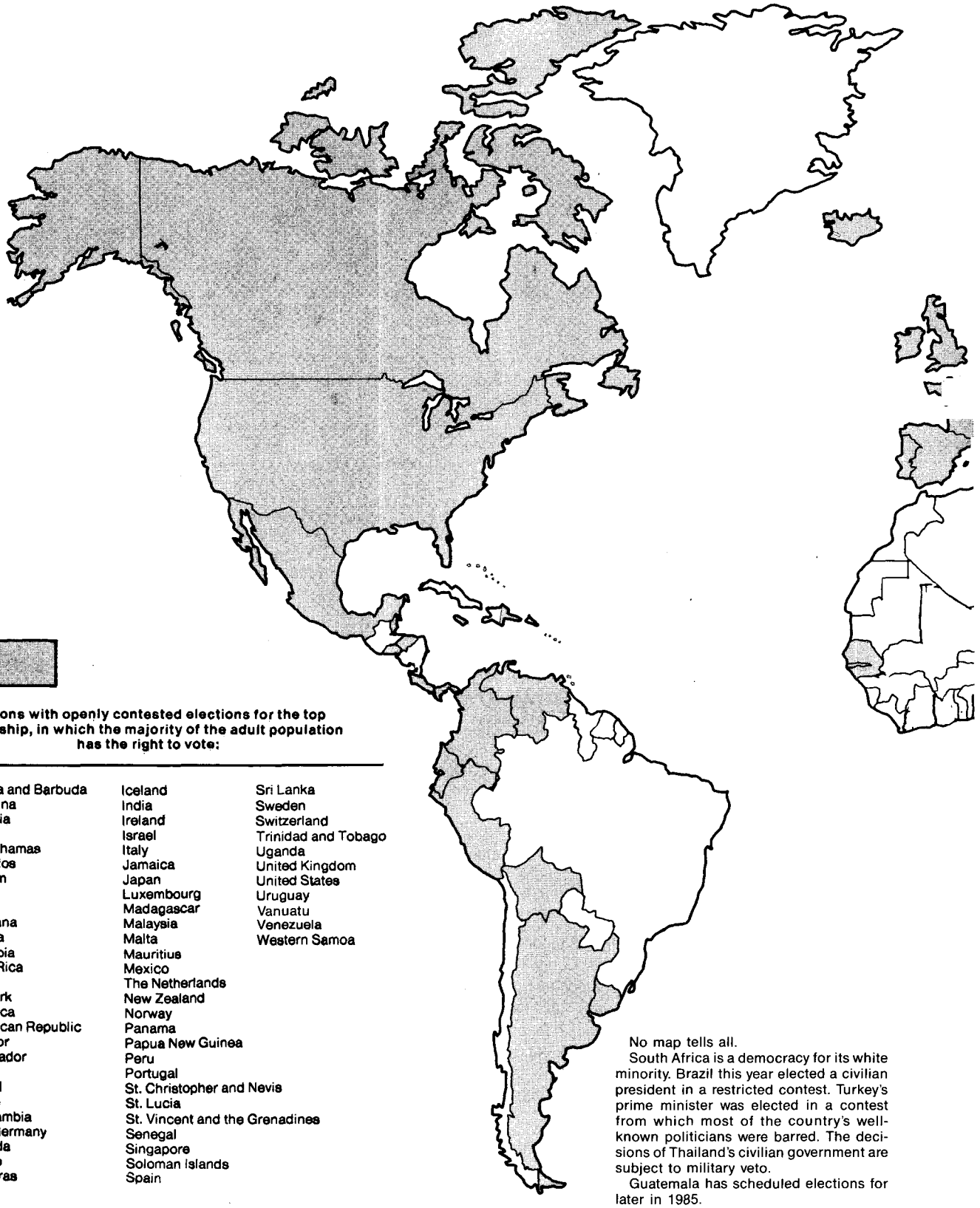
THE ATLAS OF FREEDOM: DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS



Nations with openly contested elections for the top leadership, in which the majority of the adult population has the right to vote:

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Australia
Austria
The Bahamas
Barbados
Belgium
Belize
Bolivia
Botswana
Canada
Colombia
Costa Rica
Cyprus
Denmark
Dominica
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
El Salvador
Fiji
Finland
France
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West Germany
Grenada
Greece
Honduras
Iceland
India
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Italy
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Mexico
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Soloman Islands
Spain
Sri Lanka
Sweden
Switzerland
Trinidad and Tobago
Uganda
United Kingdom
United States
Uruguay
Vanuatu
Venezuela
Western Samoa

No map tells all.

South Africa is a democracy for its white minority. Brazil this year elected a civilian president in a restricted contest. Turkey's prime minister was elected in a contest from which most of the country's well-known politicians were barred. The decisions of Thailand's civilian government are subject to military veto.

Guatemala has scheduled elections for later in 1985.

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Source: "Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1984," U.S. State Department

Map by Karen Portik for *Policy Review*

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The Terrible Ten

America's Worst Regulations

Doug Bandow

Ronald Reagan, in his first term, failed to carry out one of his most important promises: freeing America of unnecessary regulation. Upon taking office in 1981, President Reagan did end oil price controls, eliminate the Council on Wage and Price Stability, and freeze hundreds of "midnight" regulations proposed by the Carter Administration. But the Reagan team soon lost enthusiasm for cutting back federal jurisdiction. The Presidential Task Force on Regulatory Relief was disbanded; regulatory oversight by the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) was increasingly circumvented. And despite the election of the most deregulatory Congress in years in 1980, President Reagan did virtually nothing to tear out the statutory roots of regulation. What little he did accomplish can be reversed by the stroke of a new president's pen.

But a select few regulations belong at the top of any hit list. What follows are the 10 worst regulations that remain to be repealed. Some are so harmful that no one but the particular interest enriched will defend them. Others don't benefit even the groups in whose name they are issued.

1. Marketing Orders

At a time when hunger and malnutrition stalk the Third World, marketing orders imposed by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) require the destruction of tens of millions of cartons of food. In 1983, more oranges were destroyed by USDA dictates than by the unusually harsh winter freezes in Texas and Florida.

Marketing orders are an anachronistic outgrowth of Depression-era legislation intended to stabilize and raise the incomes of farmers by establishing cartels. The orders control the production and sale of $5 billion worth of specialty crops, including lemons, walnuts, hops, raisins, and oranges; limits are set by industry boards and enforced by the USDA. In 1983, orange growers were allowed to sell only 60 percent of their harvest. Lemon producers had to let rot—or sell as by-products, the economic equivalent of destruction—three-fourths of their crops.

By restricting sales, marketing orders obviously hurt poor consumers the most, since they can least afford inflated food prices. But the rules don't even help many farmers. Independent farmers almost always lose money because the USDA restricts the percentage of the total crop, not the total number of a fruit sold. Thus, many growers try to "earn" the right to sell one more orange by increasing total production. Their incomes may rise some in the short term, but as production climbs in succeeding years, ever tighter controls become necessary to hold up incomes.

Indeed, a 1981 USDA study found that marketing orders do not reduce price fluctuations; later surveys by the OMB in 1982 reached the same conclusion. By hindering futures trading and forward contracts, the production restrictions block the natural market mechanisms for reducing price instability.

2. Draft Registration

Three years ago, President Reagan reneged on his promise to rescind draft registration, one of President Carter's symbolic responses to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. President Reagan wanted to make a symbolic response to the imposition of martial law in Poland. However, since he has lifted most of the sanctions he originally imposed against the Polish regime and is prepared to allow Poland into the International Monetary Fund, he should remove this sanction against Americans.

Peacetime draft registration has no practical value. The Administration claim that eight weeks would be saved during mobilization is simply wrong, as a 1981 internal Administration study showed. Even if the United States didn't register young men until war was declared, the draft could be accelerated by other measures, such as using more sophisticated sorting and processing techniques. For peacetime registration to save eight weeks, organizing a draft would have to take seven days longer than in 1940, and almost as long as in 1917, despite decades of technological improvements.

Doug Bandow *is a Senior Fellow at the Cato Institute, and served as Special Assistant to the President for Policy Development in the Reagan Administration.*

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Oranges of Wrath

Ironically, registration may even, in then-candidate Reagan's words, "decrease our military preparedness, by making people think we have solved our defense problems—when we have not." Eighteen-year-olds require training before becoming soldiers, so peacetime registration would not affect the flow of troops until four months after a mobilization. More critical to our nation's security is the status of the Reserves, who are supposed to be prepared for immediate action. Registration only diverts attention from improving their readiness.

3. Homework Prohibition

In December, the Department of Labor terminated its 42 year-old ban on home-knitting; it is now legal to employ people at home to knit sweaters and hats.

However, the federal prohibition, imposed under authority of the 1942 Fair Labor Standards Act, still applies to homework involving jewelry, women's apparel, handkerchiefs, gloves and mittens, buttons and buckles, and embroidery. The AFL-CIO, the Service Employees International Union, and the National Organization of Working Women, all want to extend the ban to telecommuting, where people perform computer and word processing tasks at home.

The homework regulation is ostensibly intended to prevent exploitation of workers, but the real beneficiary has been organized labor, particularly the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), which kept the Labor Department tied up in court for years on the home-knitting issue. The union fears competition from workers who will accept less pay because of the advantages of working at home; Max Zimny, the ILGWU's general counsel, said that home-knitters, many of whom are retirees and handicapped with few employment alternatives, "should find some other way to occupy themselves."

All the homework prohibitions should be repealed; people usually work at home because they want to. Commutes can be avoided and flexible hours kept; women, in particular, like homework because they can simultaneously pursue a career and raise a family. When the federal government ordered Virginia Gray, who supplements her retired husband's $400 Social Security check by knitting sweaters at home, out of business, she said: "Tell them to do their work down in Washington and leave us alone."

4. Mandatory Coal Scrubbers

Everyone believes in protecting the environment, which makes environmental regulation a favorite method to disguise measures designed to enrich particular special interests. A particularly expensive example of this practice involves the 1979 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) regulations requiring all new coal-burning electric plants to install "coal scrubbers" to reduce sulfur emissions.

In 1971, the EPA set limits on the amount of sulfur dioxide per million BTUs of energy that could be released. Coal scrubbers do the job, but they are horrendously expensive—running as much as one-fifth of the total cost of a new plant. So utilities began meeting the EPA standards by burning low-sulfur coal (mostly from the West), and making other adjustments in their fuel generation processes.

However, the United Mine Workers, whose members dominate the high-sulfur, eastern coal fields, joined with environmentalist groups to lobby Congress to amend the Clean Air Act in 1977 to require all new utilities to use "technological" means (for practical purposes, coal scrubbers) to cut their emissions. Two years later, the EPA issued its implementing regulations.

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates that the scrubber rule costs Americans at least $3.4 billion a year. Assuming 4,500 jobs on net are "saved," which is unlikely, the CBO figures that taxpayers and consumers are spending $740,000 annually to preserve one coal miner's job—more than 24 times what the average miner earns. Paul Portney, a senior fellow at Resources for the

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Future, pointed out in *Regulation* magazine that unemployed manufacturing workers have been retrained and relocated for under $3,000 each. Even if we had to give every unemployed miner an executive-level pension and a home in the Bahamas, it would be worth it to dump the scrubber rule.

5. Airbags

Next to sobriety, seatbelts are the easiest and most cost-effective way of reducing deaths and injuries from traffic accidents. In 1967, the Transportation Department ordered that seatbelts be installed in cars. But drivers and passengers refused to use them, so the regulators ordered the installation of passive restraints: airbags and automatic seatbelts. The Carter Administration decreed their installation in all autos by 1984, but the newly inaugurated Reagan Administration rescinded the rule in 1981. Ordered by the Supreme Court to reconsider its decision, the Transportation Department, under the new leadership of Elizabeth Dole, flip-flopped and mandated the use of airbags, unless a sufficient number of states passed laws requiring motorists to wear seatbelts.

The airbag rule will cost consumers dearly: Mercedes-Benz currently charges $875 for the airbag option, and replacing the system after it inflates runs even more. Storage and disposal of airbags, which contain volatile, explosive chemicals, will be difficult.

Requiring installation of airbags will do little to decrease the nation's highway death toll. The Transportation Department now admits that its previous effectiveness estimates were greatly inflated. Moreover, airbags only protect front seat riders in head-on collisions, which account for only 20 percent of all accidents. To the extent that airbags make people who normally use seatbelts complacent, causing drivers to leave their belts unfastened, airbags may actually make the driving population less safe.

6. Sugar Quotas

To pass its budget package in June 1981, the Reagan Administration needed every vote it could get in Congress, including those of Louisiana Democrat John Breaux and a handful of his southern colleagues. In return for their yeas, President Reagan set the domestic price of sugar at nearly 22 cents a pound, three times the market level, and imposed quotas on foreign imports to prop up that artificial price.

The reimposition of one of the few trade barriers that had expired is costing American consumers some $3 billion annually—about $215,000 for every one of America's 14,000 sugar producers. Before joining the Administration, OMB Director David Stockman called the sugar price supports a "bailout for speculative interests that have gone sour."

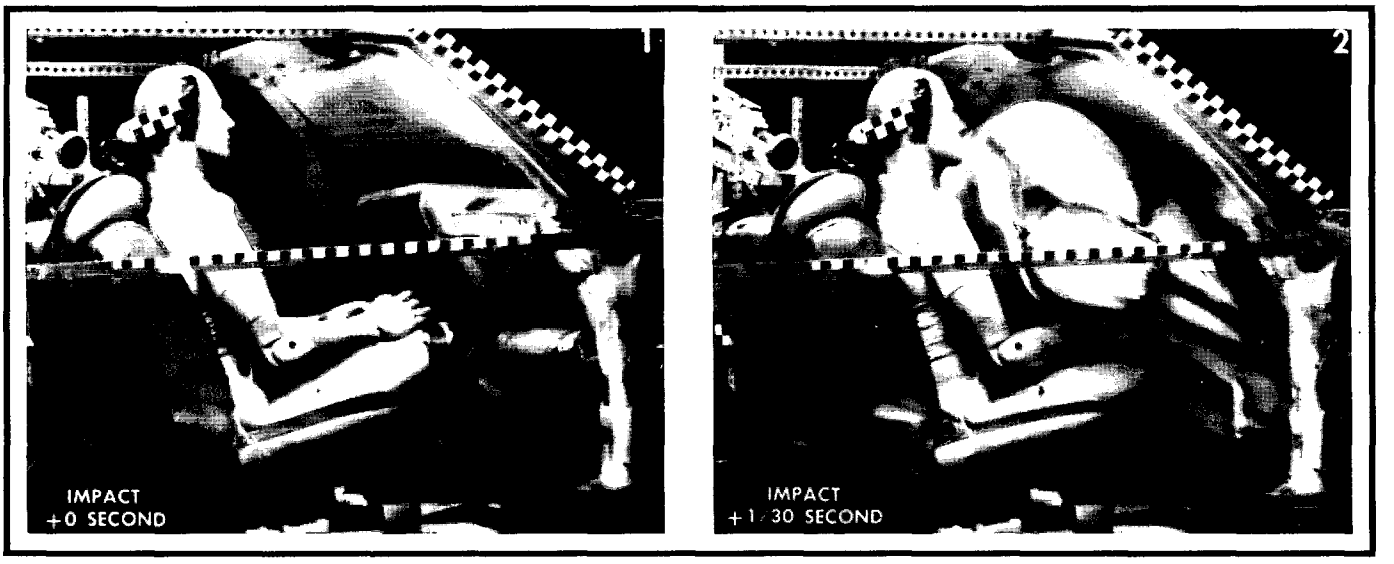
Quotas are a particularly perverse form of trade barrier, because they cost consumers far more than they benefit domestic producers. Much of the difference goes instead to foreign growers who are still allowed to sell in the United States, but at higher prices. It would be more efficient to simply put sugar growers on the dole, though why they deserve subsidies more than sugar consumers is a mystery.

7. The Delaney Clause

While one part of the government works to keep low-cost sugar out of the country, another agency wants to keep low-calorie substitutes for sugar off the market. The congressional moratorium on the Food and Drug Administration's attempt to ban the artificial sweetener saccharin runs out early this year, and the battle over yet another extension is already brewing on Capitol Hill.

The Food and Drug Administration (FDA) first moved against saccharin in 1977 after studies—based on consumption of the equivalent of 750 cans of diet soda daily—found that the sweetener caused bladder cancer in rats. The agency's action was not uniquely perverse, but instead was mandated by the Delaney Clause, passed by Congress in 1959, which bars as a food additive any substance found to cause cancer in animals, at whatever dosage.

The clause has been grossly abused. The FDA is on the verge of admitting that it blundered in proscribing the use



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of cyclamates in 1970; an internal cancer assessment committee recently concluded that the original animal tests were badly flawed. Indeed, a U.S. Claims Court judge recently ruled that the FDA "continually misrepresented" the findings of scientists on the issue at the time.

Moreover, the relationship between carcinogens for animals and those for humans is wholly speculative; even different species of animals tolerate different substances differently. Penicillin, for example, kills hamsters and guinea pigs, but no other mammals, including humans. Of the hundreds of chemicals and food additives that cause cancer in animals, only ten are known to be carcinogenic for humans as well. And one, arsenic, causes cancer in humans but not in animals.

Ironically, if the Delaney Clause was applied to natural matter, hundreds of carcinogens would have to be banned—among them, as Edith Efron points out in her brilliant book, *The Apocalyptics,* sunlight, lemons, saliva, and testosterone. The Delaney Clause should be repealed, and the FDA told to deal only with genuine threats to the public's safety.

8. Bilingual Education

In its 1974 decision, *Lau v. Nichols,* the Supreme Court ruled that San Francisco schools had violated the civil rights laws by not providing some form of special instruction for Chinese-speaking students. The Court left local school districts to decide what kind of programs to adopt—whether English as a second language or bilingual teaching, for example—and acknowledged that English comprehension was the most important goal. However, the Office of Civil Rights proceeded to negotiate more than 400 "voluntary" agreements, under threat of a total cutoff of federal funds, in which schools committed to teach children in separate native language classes. Even under President Reagan, the Education Department has continued to force bilingualism on schools across America; the educational establishment seems bent, one commentator has observed, on creating "the only school system in the world where kids can become illiterate in two languages."

The policy of the Office of Civil Rights is entirely a bureaucratic invention: bilingual education is required by neither statute nor court decision. But former Education Secretary Terrel Bell and his closest aides were strong supporters of native language instruction for non-English-speaking students.

Mr. Bell's successor, William J. Bennett, has the opportunity to move America away from this form of educational apartheid. The policy is expensive—in addition to the regulatory program, the federal government spends some $140 million annually to promote bilingual education—and also counterproductive, making it more difficult for students to enter the American mainstream. One can only imagine the chaos that would have ensued had Uncle Sam opposed the use of English to teach the immigrant tides of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

9. Federal Contracts Compliance Programs

In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson promulgated Executive Order 11246, creating what Cornell professor Jeremy Rabkin says is "in some sense the institutionalization of a racial allocation system in employment." The order set quotas and affirmative action hiring requirements for the 300,000 businesses and other institutions that have contracts with the federal government. The program, involving every department and agency and enforced by the Labor Department's Office of Federal Contracts Compliance Programs, is the federal government's most extensive race-conscious program.

The system is bad for the same reasons that any quota program is bad: it bases individual success on membership in a group, not on personal achievement. Those excluded lose benefits that are rightfully theirs. Those included, even if qualified, may never be recognized as having succeeded for any reason other than their race or ethnic background.

The federal rules are also complex and expensive. Hiring goals and timetables are unrealistic; accurate surveys of numbers of minority workers are unavailable. The paperwork mandated is legion, and the specific requirements are constantly changing.

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In fact, there is no evidence that the program has done any particular good for minorities—studies show that the average gap between the incomes of blacks and whites is smallest in industries that do the least business with the federal government—and we will never achieve a truly color-blind society until the government bars all forms of racial bias.

In early 1982, the Labor Department did propose to modify the regulations, but only to reduce the administrative burden on business. The White House then shelved the changes, due to the upcoming congressional elections. Now that President Reagan has been overwhelmingly reelected, he should demonstrate that he believes what he said in 1980: "increasing discrimination against some people in order to reduce it against others does not end discrimination."

10. Due Diligence

Ten percent of all American coal comes from federal land; that figure may reach as high as 25 percent five years from now. Uncle Sam's extensive land holdings, six times the size of France, also provide some 14 percent of all domestically produced oil and double that proportion of natural gas.

Not only does the government own the land; it controls the pace of development. The 1920 Mineral Leasing Act sought to combat the perceived evils of speculation by requiring companies to act with due "diligence" in developing their leases. If a firm failed to begin production within 10 years for coal and 5 or 10 years for natural gas and petroleum, it was to forfeit the lease. The requirement was essentially unenforced until 1976, when Congress passed the Federal Coal Leasing Amendments Act, setting an absolute 10-year deadline for coal leases.

The basic rationale of the due diligence requirement is faulty, for speculation serves a socially valuable function by saving resources for use in the future when they will be more valuable. Not only do private entrepreneurs profit from conserving resources, but the process promotes both supply and price stability.

Ironically, since lessees must "use it or lose it," the regulation encourages overutilization of federal lands. Coal firms respond to the provision by engaging in other forms of inefficient behavior, such as stockpiling coal mined on the federal lands in question and reducing production elsewhere. As for oil companies, the requirement reduces the incentive to explore areas where petroleum extraction is not likely to be economic for years. One Department of Energy study estimated that the cost of the rule applied to coal alone was $200 million annually.

The regulation should be abolished outright, but at the very least Congress could make it less onerous by, for example, allowing a company to pay advance royalties instead of losing the lease, at the end of the due diligence time period.

Stemming the Tide

This list is but a starting point for deregulation. The Fairness Doctrine of the Federal Communications Commission stifles rather than promotes the discussion of important public issues; it deserves repeal. The Davis-Bacon Act sets artificially high wages on federal construction projects—it was passed during the Great Depression to keep cheaper black labor unemployed—and should be junked. The statutory requirement that books sold in the United States be printed here, the 55 m.p.h. speed limit, and restrictions on entry in the trucking industry are others that should be targeted for quick elimination in President Reagan's new term.

If the Administration doesn't take the initiative this year, when its political leverage is likely to be greatest, the regulatory reform movement may end, in the words of Robert Crandall of Brookings Institution, "as a kind of Henry George Society—meeting once a year to dream about what might have been." Let us hope that four years from now former Federal Trade Commissioner Michael Pertschuk will not be able to repeat what he said two years ago of this Administration: it is "the gang that couldn't deregulate straight." ☎

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Beware of the Union Label

The Metaphysics and Politics of the UCS

Gregory Fossedal

When President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative comes up for authorization in Congress this spring, the best mobilized opposition will come from the Union of Concerned Scientists, a Cambridge, Massachusetts, organization that has previously led the charge against the B-1 bomber, the Trident submarine, both the Carter and the Reagan MX systems, President Nixon's ABM system, and the adding of multiple warheads or "MIRVs" to U.S. missiles. Founded 16 years ago by the organizers of an anti-war teach-in at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the UCS has opposed virtually every effort, both offensive and defensive, to improve the nuclear balance in favor of the United States. It has also become the principal custodian of the perverse logic of mutual assured destruction.

Directed by Howard C. Ris, Jr. the UCS is a network of well-credentialed, well-connected scientists, including Carl Sagan, professor of astronomy at Cornell University; Henry Kendall, professor of physics at MIT, Victor Weisskopf, professor emeritus of physics at MIT; Hans Bethe, professor emeritus of physics at Cornell; and Richard L. Garwin, IBM Fellow and professor of physics at Columbia University. Almost every report the Union issues is greeted with serious attention from academic colleagues and great fanfare from the press. The now-famous "no first use" of nuclear weapons suggestion by George Kennan, Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, and Gerard Smith was based on a paper issued earlier by the UCS. The Union's teach-in in 1981 on the threat of nuclear war was reported by all the major networks and launched the college movement for the nuclear freeze. And the UCS has been largely responsible for promoting the "nuclear winter" theory of Carl Sagan, Paul Ehrlich, and others—the hypothesis that any nuclear war would inevitably throw up sufficient soot and smoke to block out the sun for months, promoting a global drop in temperatures of 40 degrees or more, and thereby ending "all human life."

During the 1970s, the Union's greatest impact probably came in the field of nuclear power, where even critics concede that it has functioned as a useful gadfly. Many demur from its conclusions about the overall theoretical safety of nuclear power. Yet few deny that the group's criticisms of particular plants that fail to meet safety levels have been effective, forcing officials to set more rigorous standards. Early in 1979, a UCS analysis urged a shutdown of a number of nuclear power plants it deemed to be operating under "serious safety defects." The UCS warning was ignored—but only until, two months later, one of the targeted plants was crippled by the most serious accident in nuclear power history: the Three Mile Island breakdown. Throughout the ensuing crisis, the Union was one of the few available sources of expertise to a frightened press and public.

Today it is focusing its attention on strategic defense. Last year, it released a 100-page critique of President Reagan's initiative, prepared in a matter of months to coincide with the first congressional battle over funding. The study made front pages, and the *New York Times* ran a laudatory lead editorial, saying that an "expert . . . science panel" had declared strategic defense "technologically impossible." The UCS study is now a paperback book, *The Fallacy of Star Wars,* and is cited regularly on the House and Senate floor as indication of a scientific consensus against President Reagan's plan.

UCS reports are treated as the conventional wisdom of scientists. When the group issued a plea for a ban on weapons in space, a *Washington Post* headline read, "Scientists Prod Reagan on Anti-Satellite Talks." Two days after Mr. Reagan's initial Star Wars speech in 1983, a headline in the *New York Times* declared "Scientists Dubious Over Missile Plan," and *Newsweek* suggested that "most experts" considered it unworkable. Their assessments were based mainly on talks with UCS supporters and affiliates. Most Americans today would probably say they believe scientific opinion to be uniformly hostile to strategic defense. The Union's lobbying on nuclear power has helped create a similar impression about reactors. Six out of ten Americans believe that the scientific community is evenly split on the safety of nuclear energy, or considers nuclear energy unsafe, accord-

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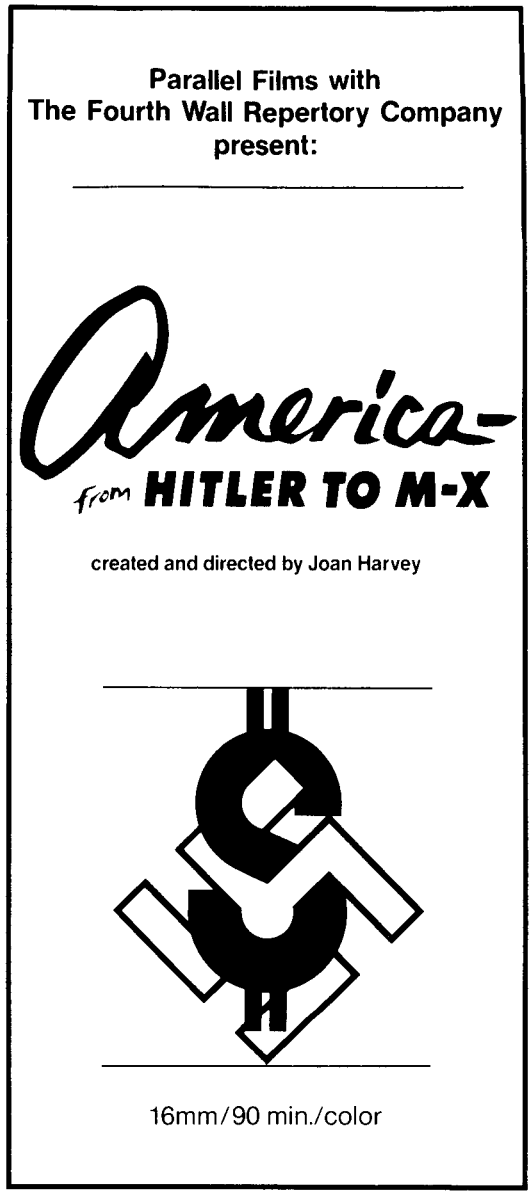
ing to a study by Stanley Rothman and Robert Lichter.

But do such views represent the opinion of either mainstream scientists or of scientists with particular expertise in these areas? When the Media Institute examined the nuclear power question in the 1970s, it found that the UCS was the most widely quoted "independent expert" source on television newscasts, cited more than twice as often as the next leading group. Yet a subsequent survey by Stanley Rothman and Robert Lichter showed that 89 percent of all scientists, and 95 percent of all energy experts, regard "nuclear energy as a necessary and a relatively benign source of energy." No comparable studies exist with regard to defense issues, but scientific criticism of UCS work on Star Wars suggests that the Union's positions may not necessarily be representative.

Scientists are certainly not a fertile source of income. The Union raises most of its $2 million budget through direct mail, trading lists with groups whose audience is likely to intersect with its own. According to Bob Bland, a UCS fund-raiser, the groups with which the UCS had success trading lists include: Amnesty International, Common Cause, the National Organization for Women, Ground Zero, the League of Women Voters, and Oxfam America. Groups whose lists have not paid off for the Union include: *Omni* magazine, *Astronomy* magazine, and the Animal Protection Institute. The Union, in other words, seems to draw less support from scientists than from political action committees.



This brochure is distributed by the UCS to its supporters.

Policy Review recently asked several Nobel Prize-winning scientists what they thought of the UCS's work.

"They have committed some intemperate acts . . . Emotions seem to get the better part of their judgment sometimes," says Arno Penzias, the Bell Labs scientist who discovered a radiation cloud that provides support for the "big bang" theory of the origin of the universe. Mr. Penzias cautioned that he does not follow all the UCS's work closely. But he said the UCS materials he sees are "more rhetoric than science, a kind of war between good and evil. I might agree with them on some things . . . But once you take a scientific issue and look at it as a battle you're going to win, you no longer have the right to call yourself a scientist."

Robert Wilson, who shared the Nobel with Mr. Penzias, generally concurs: "They definitely have a position they're selling . . . I share some of their concerns, especially about nuclear weapons, but I don't give the UCS itself much credibility."

Hans Bethe, the only Nobel winner the UCS identifies as an active supporter, criticizes the organization's bias as well. "In many cases, they have not made accurate statements," he said of the group's nuclear power work. "They do not paint a correct picture." Nevertheless, Mr. Bethe continues to support the Union's conclusions on strategic issues.

"We've never said we speak for the scientific community," says John Tirman, a UCS spokesman. "A lot of scientists disagree with us."

The UCS frequently asserts that it is not opposed to a strong U.S. defense. On the contrary, whenever the Union attacks one weapons system or strategy, it usually recommends an alternative that it argues would make the United States stronger.

Nevertheless, the UCS is curiously silent when it comes to lobbying for those alternatives. In its "no first use" report, for example, the Union called for "a number of ready improvements" in Western conventional forces. But general UCS literature lists no specific increases in U.S. or NATO capabilities that it favors. Nor do the Union's reports to its members list any efforts to lobby for increased funding in the specific U.S. programs, such as the anti-tank weapons that the UCS said would be an alternative to deploying Euromissiles. Mr. Tirman says the group made no effort to win public or congressional support for those conventional improvements: "We felt that the funding for those improvements was being supported by other groups and would pass anyway." Asked whether such allocations did pass, Mr. Tirman answers, "I don't know."

The Union believes that more money should go to "peaceful uses of space." It has not, however, argued or lobbied for increased funding for such programs as the space shuttle.

The UCS is also curiously reluctant to criticize specific Soviet weapons systems. With its "deadly accuracy, multi-warhead capacity, and first-strike capability," a UCS booklet says, America's MX missile "represents a

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wholly unnecessary escalation of the arms race." The booklet does not say whether the UCS opposes the Soviet SS-18, SS-X-24, and SS-X-25, which have more counterforce capability than the MX.

Seeing Red

Moscow does not go unmentioned in UCS literature. A report in the spring of 1984 said that "in recent years the United States and the Soviet Union have accelerated programs to turn outer space into a battlefield." Perhaps a fuller story is that the Soviets began testing anti-satellite weapons perhaps as early as 1966. By 1982, the Soviets had conducted about 20 such tests, half of them successful. During this period, according to Mr. Tirman, the Union did not do any studies or lobbying regarding "the arms race in space."

In 1982, though, President Reagan proposed to develop a matching U.S. anti-satellite weapon to be fired from the F-15. And in March 1983, the President made his well-known speech on Star Wars. The first Union report on space weapons came out a few months later, as the United States moved to conduct its first test of the anti-satellite weapon in space.

It might be argued that as an American organization, the UCS can hardly be expected to influence Soviet policy. Yet UCS pamphlets brag of doing just that. "The impact of UCS's work was also evident in the Soviet Union's approach to space arms control," says one of its pamphlets. In August 1983, Soviet Premier Yuri Andropov proposed an immediate ban on anti-satellite weapons, submitting to the United Nations a revised version of Moscow's proposed 1981 treaty outlawing weapons in space. The UCS boasts that "the origins of these revisions could be clearly traced to the treaty submitted by the UCS to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee three months earlier." In May 1984, when Soviet President Konstantin Chernenko wanted to reiterate Soviet support for an agreement to "ban weapons from outer space," he did so in a personal letter to UCS contributors Carl Sagan and Richard Garwin.

Though the UCS does sometimes criticize Soviet policy, its most vehement attacks seem reserved for the United States, as in a brochure for the film, *America—From Hitler to M-X,* which the UCS sent out to several of its supporters:

"An expose of America's top level corporate and banking links with fascism . . . in the effort to gain worldwide domination. It dramatically ties American bankers with our first strike policies, and shows how nuclear stockpiling has secretly polluted the United States. . . . 'America—From Hitler to M-X' indicts the United States as aggressor in today's international move to war. . . ."

UNION OF LOBBYISTS

The Union's own account of its 1983–84 effort to defeat funding for space defenses and anti-satellite weapons paints a portrait of an organization with keen political focus:

In the fall of 1983, UCS's congressional lobbying efforts focused on developing House leadership on space weapons. UCS representatives in Washington and in congressional districts worked extensively with Congressmen [Matthew] McHugh and [Lawrence] Coughlin to encourage them to lead a bipartisan coalition for space arms control. . . .

UCS also sent out a nationwide legislative alert to our 18,000 activists, followed up by personal contacts to selected congressmen. In the fall, the UCS also began to develop support for space arms control among the grass roots outside of Washington. . . .

These legislative and grass roots efforts met with success. On October 20, 1983, the House Appropriations Committee took up the McHugh-Coughlin-Dicks amendment and deleted $19.4 million in (anti-satellite) procurement funds. . . .

Concurrently we began a major grass roots lobbying program to stimulate senatorial support for S.J.R. 129, which had been approved by the Foreign Relations Committee in July. This bill called for both a moratorium on [anti-satellite] testing and negotiations with the USSR to ban all space weapons. (A)lerts were sent out to 6,000 UCS sponsors in Illinois, asking them to urge Senator Charles Percy, chairman of the committee, to expedite consideration of the bill by the full Senate. This campaign generated 500 letters a week to the Senator's office and helped convince him to work with majority leader Howard Baker to schedule a floor debate.

A radio campaign was also mounted in five states [Louisiana, Kansas, Washington, New Hampshire, and Minnesota]. The 60-second radio spot urged the general public to put pressure on their Senators to vote for S.J.R. 129. A legislative alert was also sent to our 18,000 congressional letter writers across the country. Intensive grass roots lobbying activities were organized in four congressional districts [in New Jersey, Georgia, Kentucky, and Florida] represented by members who sit on the influential R & D [Research and Development] subcommittee of the House Armed Services Committee. . . .

On the same day as the UCS [national] teleconference [against Star Wars], the House Armed Services Committee responded to our various lobbying efforts: it cut $407 million from the President's Strategic Defense Initiative, a reduction of almost one-third. And . . . the House passed an authorization amendment . . . restricting the tests of the U.S. anti-satellite against objects in space . . . UCS played a major role in the floor debate by providing fact sheets and charts for use by debaters and working closely with the bill's co-sponsors to lobby other members of the House.

From *"Summary of UCS Activities on Space Arms Control, 1983–84."*

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Profits With Honor

What's Good For The Health Business Is Good For Health

Adam Wolfson

On November 25, 1984, at 2:45 P.M., William J. Schroeder became the second person to receive an artificial heart. While most of humanity stood in awe, applauding the daring of the heart's maker and the courage of its recipient, the medical establishment bitterly denounced the operation as a public relations gimmick that would serve the financial interest of its profit-making sponsor, Humana Hospital Corporation. "If this company was genuinely interested in advancing medical knowledge, it would build a research institute," said Dr. Arnold Relman, editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*. Dr. David Olch, of the American Medical Association's judicial council, asked: "Will the artificial heart benefit Schroeder as much as it benefits Dr. Jarvik, Humana, and the surgical team?" MIT's *Technology Review* published an article critical of profit-making health providers more generally: "Their own conception of 'doing good' . . . may be influenced, often subtly, by their own quest for fortune and fame."

This bias against the profit motive is difficult to understand, for many of medicine's most dramatic breakthroughs could not have occurred without the contributions of the profit-making company. There is absolutely no incompatibility between profits and health. On the contrary, as the following four examples illustrate, companies make money by providing better health care products that people will want to buy.

Bayering the Pain

Had it not been for a German pharmaceutical firm, Friedrich Bayer & Co., your doctor would not be able to tell you to take two aspirin and call him in the morning. For it was a Bayer chemist, Felix Hoffman, who in 1897 discovered the miraculous powers of acetylsalicylic acid, which could reduce pain and fever without the unpleasant side effects of previous painkillers.

The idea of aspirin is very old. Greek and Roman physicians, such as Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Pliny the Elder, noticed 2,000 years ago that willow leaves relieved pain, and they prescribed them for women during childbirth. In the 18th century, a treatise from the Royal Society of London advised that patients suffering from pain take powdered willow bark every four hours.

In 1826, chemists realized why willow leaves were so therapeutic. They isolated a fever-reducing ingredient, salicin, and six years later found a way to synthesize a derivative for mass production. Salicylic acid, as this derivative was called, was the first synthetic drug to play a major role in medicine. It generated excitement throughout Europe, but unfortunately it frequently caused such side effects as nausea and unconsciousness.

Hoffman was searching for a less toxic pain killer when he stumbled upon the work of Charles Frederic von

Adam Wolfson *is assistant editor of* Policy Review.

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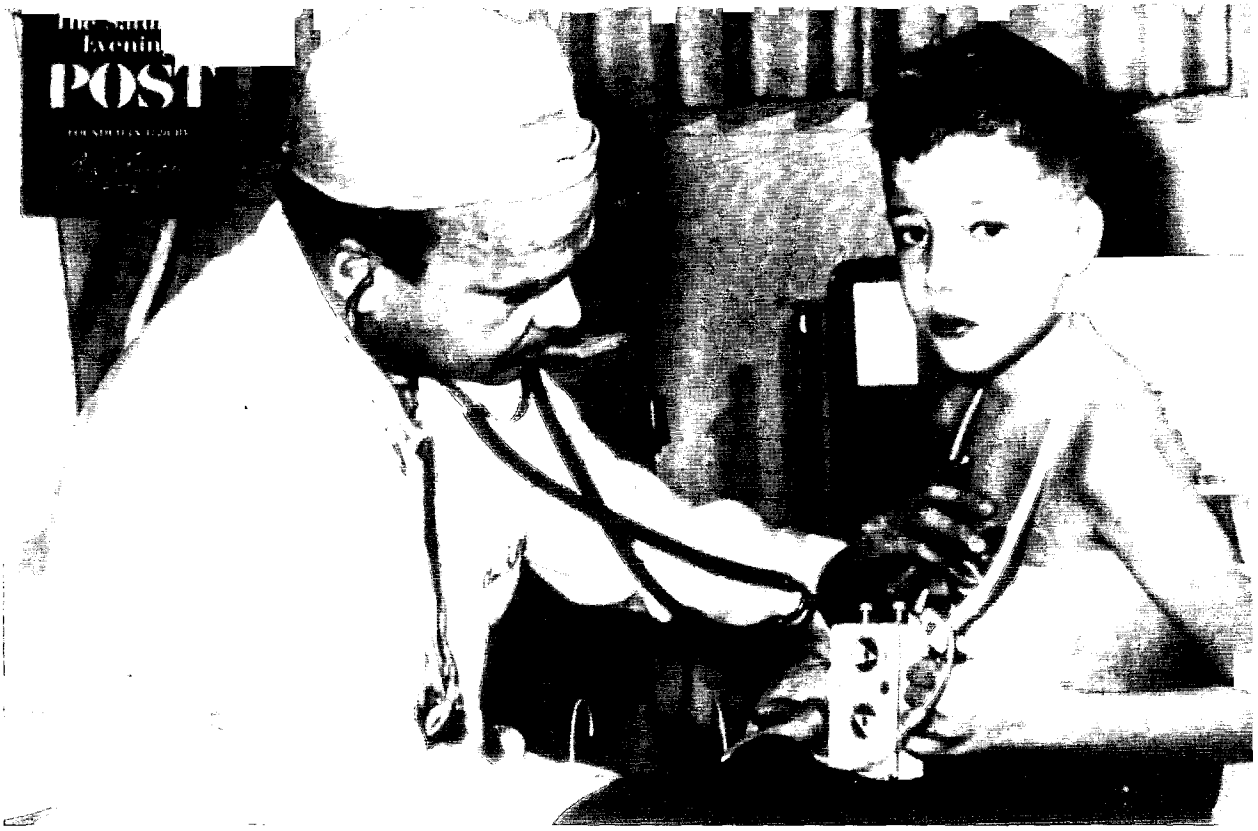

The first portable pacemaker, built by Medtronic in 1957.

Gerhardt, who in 1853 had synthesized acetylsalicylic acid. To Gerhardt, the chemical was a laboratory curiosity; to Bayer & Co., it was an opportunity to make a fortune. Bayer & Co. worked out a simplified synthesis process, developed a method for mass manufacture, and heavily promoted the new drug, which became available to the public in 1899 under the name of aspirin. Today aspirin is the most widely used drug in the world; each year over 30 million pounds of aspirin are consumed. And Hoffman would be happy to know that aspirin is no longer just a pain reliever, but is used to prevent migraines, strokes, and even heart attacks.

Birth of the Pill

Many have been given credit for the invention of the birth control pill, but none more than Margaret Sanger, founder of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and the advocate of a national sterilization program for "dysgenic types." Mrs. Sanger popularized the search for the pill, and helped find funding in the 1950s for the laboratory work of Dr. Gregory Pincus, which led to the introduction of the first oral contraceptive in 1960.

But Dr. Pincus's work would not have been possible without the development of synthetic progesterones at a then-small pharmaceutical company named Syntex. In the 1930s, biologists had isolated progesterone as the female hormone responsible for inhibiting ovulation. However, research was constrained by the high cost of the substance, which was difficult to produce from natural sources.

Then in 1940 Russell Marker, a young professor of organic chemistry at Pennsylvania State College, discovered the steroid diosgenin, and a method of chemically altering it, to produce the first synthetic progesterone. After failing to interest his college in his discovery, Marker headed for Mexico to harvest the wild yam *(cabeza de negro)*, an abundant, cheap source of the precious diosgenin. With two other men, he formed the Syntex Company. In less than a decade, the price of progesterone fell from $80 a gram to less than one dollar a gram. Progesterone, for the first time, was cheap and abundant, making birth control research feasible.

Marker's synthetic progesterone, however, did not inhibit ovulation when used in pill form. In 1951, Syntex began searching for a solution, and within six months synthesized nonethisterone, the first orally effective synthetic progesterone. The discovery was indispensable to the creation of the pill. G. D. Searle was the first to capitalize on this discovery, and Syntex produced its own pill in 1962.

Setting the Pace

The human heart beats 100,000 times each day, pumping five quarts of blood every minute. But over two million people with heart disease depend on pacemakers to help do the job. These people owe their vitality to the innovative work, at two critical junctures, of Medtronic Corporation.

The pacemaker, small enough to fit in the palm of a baby, is implanted in the patient's chest, where it regulates the patient's heartbeat with electrical impulses. It bears a price tag of as little as $3,000–$4,000, lasts as long as 10 years on Star-Trek-like lithium batteries, sends signals to, and receives signals from, the physician's computer, and self-adjusts to the patient's changing needs.

But this was not always the case. In the 1950s, open heart surgery patients, suffering from abnormally slow heart rates, were hooked up to external pacemakers, the size of television sets, and plugged into AC wall outlets. These patients faced multiple problems. Their movements were limited to the length of their extension cord. Wires passing through their skins caused infections, and they were vulnerable to power failures.

Earl Bakken, the founder of Medtronic, solved this problem with his invention in 1957 of the world's first portable pacemaker. "I looked in my *Popular Electronics* magazine," explained Mr. Bakken, "and found a circuit for a metronome . . . I took the circuit, modified it, and got the right voltages for the heart, left the loudspeaker off, put a couple of terminals on it, and that was it. The

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entire process took just a few weeks." The new device was small enough to fit on a patient's belt. Medtronic was then a tiny medical equipment repair shop housed in a garage.

In two years, the company manufactured 72 portable pacemakers, which were used in America, Canada, Australia, Europe, Cuba, Africa, and South America.

In 1960, Medtronic made its second contribution to pacemaking, when it obtained the exclusive rights to produce and market the first implantable pacemaker. Neither doctors nor other businesses at that time recognized the pacemaker's potential. Indeed in the 1960s a company walked out on a merger with Medtronic, when a market research study incorrectly placed the worldwide need for pacemakers at only 10,000. But Medtronic's gamble paid off, both for heart patients and the company itself. Today it is a $300 million a year business.

Sound of Music

The cochlear implant will enable thousands of Americans, condemned to a world of silence, to hear the splash of rain, the honk of a bicycle horn, and, to some degree, the sound of a human voice. It is the result of a joint effort between the private, non-profit House Ear Institute and the Minnesota Mining & Manufacturing Co. of St. Paul (3M). President Reagan commended the two organizations for their "remarkable achievement," the "result of a combination of resources and talents in the private and public sectors."

Some 200,000 to 300,000 Americans are unable to hear with the standard hearing aid. This group, known as the "profoundly deaf," suffers from damage to the cochlea, the snail-shaped bone in the inner ear which, if healthy, converts sound waves into electrical impulses by means of 15,000 tiny hair cells. The cochlear implant translates sound into electricity, so that the brain can interpret it.

The House Ear Institute began work on a cochlear device in the 1960s, conducting 400 successful trials. But the Institute lacked the engineering, manufacturing, and marketing know-how to make the cochlear implant available for widespread use. 3M filled this gap, when in 1979 it entered the audiology field as a partner of the House Ear Institute. 3M also dealt with the complex regulations of the Food and Drug Administration, providing them with 18 volumes of data. On November 24, 1984, the "3M Cochlear Implant System/House Design" became the first, and only, cochlear implant to receive FDA approval.

Today 3M, with 50 new research and development technicians on their staff, is fully committed to the further development of the cochlear implant. In addition, 3M provides the House Ear Institute with grant money as well as royalties on the device. "Our eventual goal," says Robert Oliveira, 3M's manager of Otologic Products, "is that a profoundly deaf person be able to carry on a conversation in the dark—without the aid of lip reading." ☎

An uncompromising critique of liberal panaceas

IDEALISM, REALISM AND THE MYTH OF APPEASEMENT

by Jeane Kirkpatrick

"The Blame America First Club looks less to history or reason than to its own sense of America's guilt. In reality, the United States does not cause all the world's problems, nor can it cure them simply by altering its own behaviour. Not all the dangers in the world exist in our heads alone, and few can be dealt with simply by reinterpreting the data of experience to suit our preferences. Murder does not depend upon the perception of the witness; conquest is not altered by redefinition. Neither Colonel Qaddaffi nor the Ortega brothers can be controlled by the alteration of our own behaviour. The appropriate preparations for dealing with them do not involve psychoanalysis but a strong defence."

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THE FAT OF THE LAND

What is the Farm Crisis?

JAMES BOVARD

The average farmer is far wealthier than the average taxpayer who supports him. Indeed, the average net worth of full-time farmers is over five times greater than that of the average American household. Farm programs are perhaps the government's least equitable transfer program.

In the 1970s, farmland values soared $465 billion (in 1983 dollars). Most of this bonanza went to the larger farms, and Federal Reserve economist Emanuel Melichar estimates that it may have averaged $400,000 apiece for the largest one million farms. Farmers received one of the largest windfalls in American history—yet no one dared suggest a windfall profits tax for agriculture.

Since peaking in 1981, farmland prices have fallen an average of seven percent nationwide. In some parts of the Midwestern Corn Belt and Wheat Belt, land values have fallen by as much as 30 to 40 percent.

But in real terms, the fall in farmland values since 1981 is only one-third the gain in values during the 1970s. The average full-time farmer is still wealthy beyond the dreams of the typical typist, plumber, or ditchdigger. According to raw data provided by the Federal Reserve Board and the Census Bureau, the average American household's net worth (assets minus liabilities) is $136,000. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA), the average full-time farmer (farms with annual sales of over $40,000) can boast a net worth of $791,000.

This huge disparity is not a statistical fluke. Over half of all farmers have no debts on their lands, while 63 percent of American households own no land. Many of the farmers in the deepest cash-flow trouble own hundreds of acres of valuable topsoil.

But our agricultural policy is still premised on the idea that farmers are paupers. No matter how many acres a farmer owns, he is still treated by Congess as a charity case. Almost all of the USDA's major programs—price supports, target prices, and credit subsidies—aim to boost farm income. But this usually only means transferring money from the comparatively poor to the comparatively rich.

There is no way agricultural programs can escape this pattern. Some have proposed that government benefits be targeted to small and medium-sized farms. But the large majority of farms with sales under $40,000 a year are unprofitable tax shelters, and these "farm families" earn almost all their income off the farm. The $40,000–$99,999 sales class—the full-time farmers with the lowest sales—have an average net worth of $532,000. Current farm programs must be either ineffective or inequitable—giving money to small farmers who produce little or nothing, or giving money to farmers who are far better off than taxpayers.

Nor is farm income as low as it is often painted. In 1983, a year that set records for federal farm handouts and "crisis on the farm" stories—average farm family income actually exceeded the average for all families ($29,048 v. $28,638). Average income for the 284,000 largest farms that produce most of our food and earned almost all the profits was $76,130 in 1983.

Growing Pains

These are troubled times for many American farmers. Last year, the American Bankers Association estimates that 2.6 percent of the nation's farmers went bankrupt. This year, even more may have to sell their property. The problem is especially severe for those who borrowed heavily in the late 1970s, using as collateral farmland valued at inflated prices. These farmers thought they would get even richer. Instead they were clobbered by falling exports and soaring interest rates.

But however painful it is to make an involuntary career change, many full-time farmers are in a much better position to make the adjustment than displaced auto workers, coal miners, or school teachers. By selling their property, they can look forward to a few hundred thousand dollars to tide them over to the next job.

Since 1981, the federal government has spent the equivalent of over $70,000 for every full-time farmer. Farm programs will cost over $25 billion this year—more than the combined costs of federal food stamps and AFDC. The easiest way to understand current agricultural policy is that taxpayers take most of the losses while farmers keep all the profits.

It is sad that thousands of American farmers will have to give up their chosen livelihood this year. But we should not forget that the average farm family is $650,000 wealthier than the average American household.

JAMES BOVARD *is a freelance writer living in Washington.*

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TAX AMERICANA

What Goes Up Doesn't Always Come Down

BRUCE BARTLETT

We all know that taxes have risen. However, the magnitude of the increase is often underestimated, because taxes tend to increase in big jumps during wartime, when people feel that paying taxes is their patriotic duty, and gradually during peacetime. Still, the net effect of over 70 years of unrelenting tax increases is that for most Americans, the federal income tax has become an enormous burden.

In 1982, the latest year for which there are data, the per capita federal income tax was $1,223.32, and the average tax per return was $3,604. Figure 1 shows that the per capita federal tax burden—the actual tax paid by every man, woman, and child in America—has grown from less than a dollar per person in 1913 (the first year of the federal income tax), to well over $400 per person today. The greatest increase occurred during World War II when federal taxes went from $26.96 per person in 1940 to $226.21 in 1945. The tax rate never really went down afterwards because the Korean War came along so quickly.

The tax burden continued to grow in the 1950s because President Eisenhower kept the wartime tax system essentially intact to raise enough revenue to balance the budget. The result was slow growth and rising unemployment, which led to the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960. Under President Kennedy's tax cut, individual taxes fell from $283.04 in 1963 to $268.68 in 1964. But the Vietnam War drove taxes up again, not by a legislated rise in tax rates, but by inflation pushing people into higher tax brackets.

Finally, as the Reagan tax cut took effect, the tax burden declined from $463.61 in 1981 to $421.90 in 1982. Nevertheless, the real per capita tax burden remains roughly twice as high as it was at the peak of World War II. Furthermore, these figures reflect only federal income taxes: if Social Security were included, the rates would rise even more rapidly.

A recent Internal Revenue Service study confirms this picture. According to the IRS, the average tax rate (tax paid by all taxpayers as a percentage of total adjusted gross income), has risen from 10.2 percent in 1950 to 16 percent in 1981—a 60 percent increase.

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Further confirmation of this trend is found in a recent study of before- and after-tax income by the Census Bureau. According to the Census Bureau, the heaviest increase in taxes since 1974 has been in the 30–44 age group—the so-called Yuppies. The data in Figure 2 show that while taxes for all taxpayers rose 11.6 percent between 1974 and 1982, they increased 18 percent for 35–39 year-olds and 17.1 percent for 40–44 year-olds. The young, under age 30, and the elderly, over age 60, did not suffer as much from rising taxes.

As supply-siders have pointed out, the average tax rate and the actual dollars of tax paid are of much less importance economically than the marginal tax rate: the tax rate on each additional dollar earned. On this score, taxes have increased even more spectacularly. According to Robert Barro, professor of economics at the University of Rochester, the average marginal tax rate has risen from 1.3 percent in 1916 to 28.5 percent in 1945 to 31.8 percent in 1980. (See Figure 3.)

The real per capita tax burden remains roughly twice as high as it was at the peak of World War II.

What does this mean to the average family? Figure 4 calculates the marginal tax rate for a family of three with $10,000 of taxable income in 1967; their marginal tax rate rose from just 1.5 percent in the mid-1920s to 29 percent in 1945. However, unlike the average tax rate, the marginal tax rate continued climbing, to 33 percent in 1947 and 38 percent in 1953. The marginal rate remained fairly stable until the 1970s, reaching 39 percent in 1974, 45 percent in 1977, and peaking at 49 percent in 1980–82. Although the Reagan tax cut brought the marginal tax rate down to 42 percent, it still remains far above where it was until 1975. We would need another Kemp-Roth tax cut just to get back to where a middle income family was in the 1950s, in terms of marginal tax rates.

Another IRS study demonstrates that rising marginal tax rates are most pronounced on those with upper incomes. The IRS took a family with $45,000 of income in 1980, adjusted it for inflation back to 1950, and calculated the average and marginal tax rates. The study showed that while the average tax rate—taxes as a share of income—rose from 17.9 percent in 1950 to 22.6 percent in 1980, the marginal tax rate had skyrocketed from 26 percent to 43 percent over the same period.

The complexity of the tax code, different assumptions, and changing price levels make it difficult to compare precisely tax burdens and rates over time. But it is clear that the tax burden—and especially the marginal tax rate—has risen sharply. This explains the impetus for tax reform to lower marginal tax rates. Although support for such reform seems to be weak on Capitol Hill, the figures show that change is due. ☎

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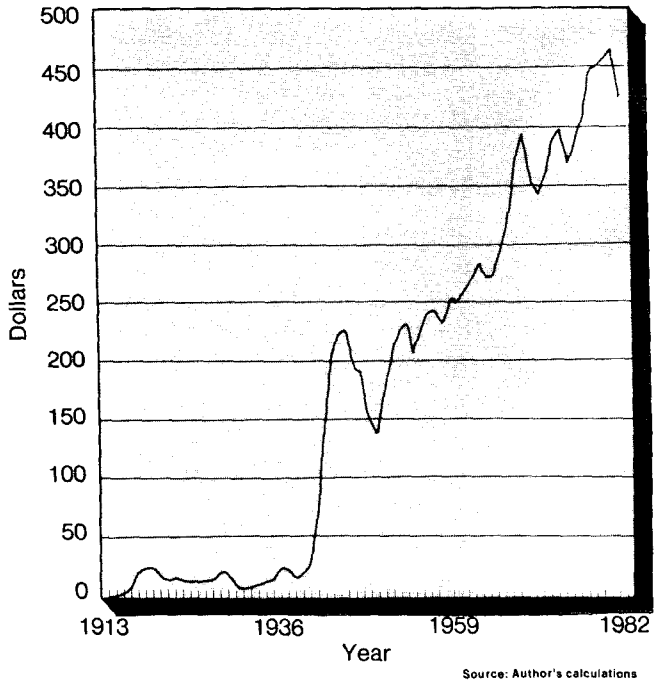

Figure 1

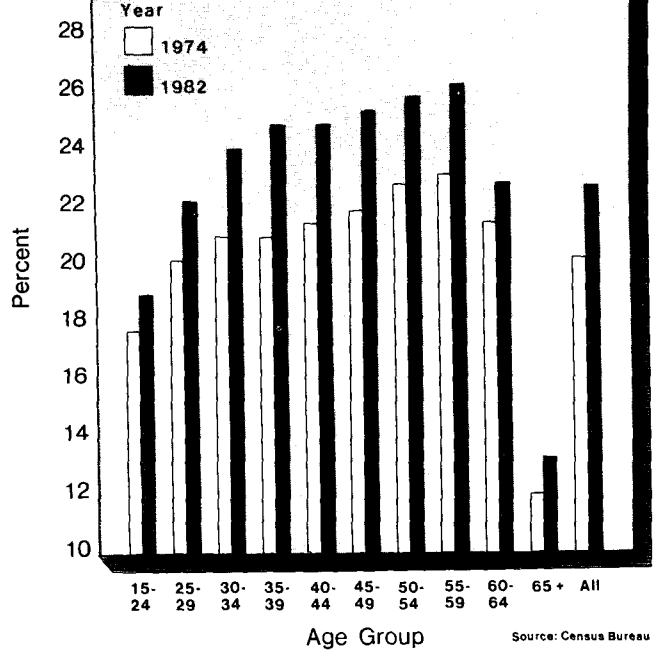

Figure 2

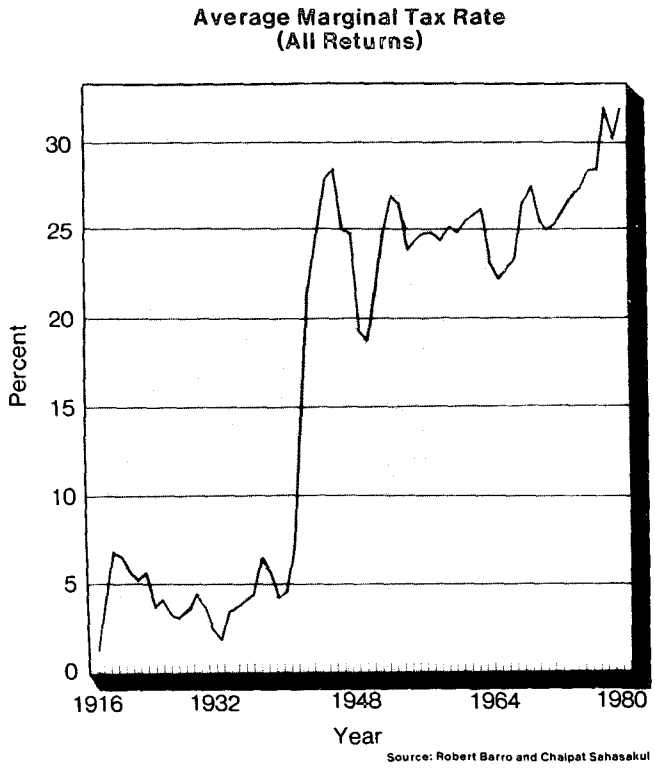

Figure 3

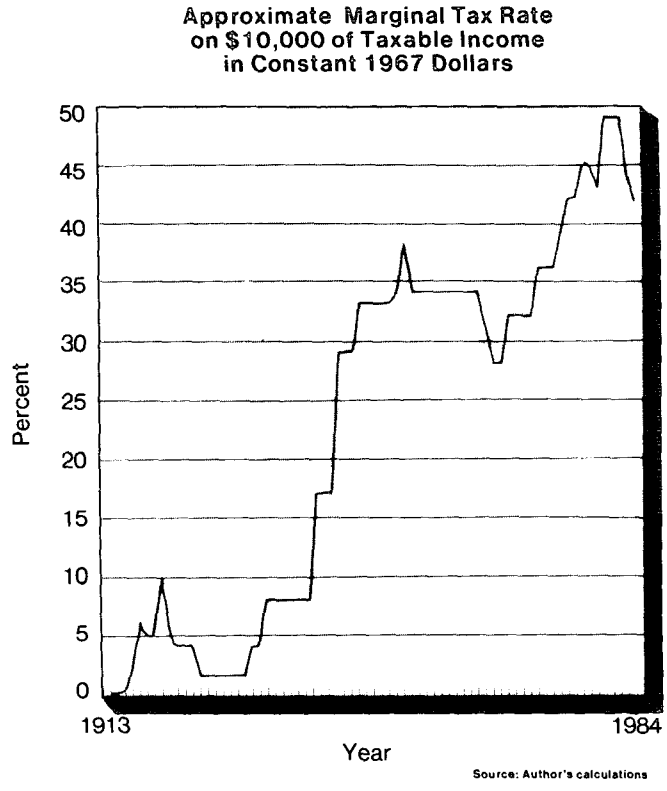

Figure 4

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JUSTICE FOR ALL

Why Crime Rates are Falling for the Third Straight Year

LISA SCHIFFREN

Crime in America is the single greatest domestic threat to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Fear of crime is the most common complaint of city dwellers, well ahead of housing, schools, and transportation. It inhibits our freedom, promotes distrust and isolation, and makes daily life a constant struggle for dignity and self-confidence. By FBI reckoning, crime increased over 300 percent between 1960 and 1980, the worst year ever. That's the bad news.

The good news is that crime has gone down some and should continue to do so. And the better news is that, after a decade of making crime a more attractive risk, society has decided to muster resolve and resources and fight back.

Serious crime is falling for the third straight year. In 1982, the number of serious crimes fell by three percent, in 1983 by seven percent—the largest decrease ever—and for the first half of 1984, serious crime rates fell again, by five percent. This is the first time since the FBI began keeping records that the crime rate has decreased for two consecutive years, let alone three. There are three main reasons for the recent decline in crime rates; by all accounts, the most important is demographics.

A disproportionally large amount of serious crime is committed by males between the ages of 14 and 24. The demographic explanation is particularly important for property crimes, since 20 year-olds commit half the number that 16 year-olds commit. It is less important for homicide and rape—the "crimes of passion."

In 1980, for instance, 15 to 19 year-olds comprised nine percent of the population, but accounted for 25 percent of the violent crime and 36 percent of the property crime. Twenty to 29 year-olds, who made up 18 percent of the population, accounted for 42 percent of violent crime and 31 percent of property crime. Crime was highest as the baby-boom generation hit these crime-prone years, and it is falling now that the last cohorts of the generation are in their early twenties.

Once they caught on to the fact that the unprecedented numbers of youth in the late 1960s and 1970s were causing the unprecedented rate of crime, demographers were able to pinpoint the peak and the start of the downturn with considerable accuracy. Their current prediction is that we will see a resurgence of crime in the early 1990s, when the "echo-boom" generation hits their mid-teens.

The second reason for the falling crime rate is that almost twice as many people are in prison today as 10 years ago. The population is up from 229,721 in 1974 to 438,830 in 1983. So long as they are locked up, these felons are kept from victimizing the public. Considering that the average career criminal commits 10 to 15 crimes a year, that is 4 to 5 million potential crimes prevented.

Criminologists caution, however, that we tend to imprison people just as they are aging out of the most active crime years. Judges are notoriously lenient toward juveniles (regardless of the gravity of their crimes), first offenders, and those with no prior convictions. Since juvenile offences—including murder, rape, and robbery—are not transferred to an adult record, criminals do not begin to amass a record until after age 18. They are rarely sentenced to "hard time" until their mid-twenties. Most criminals experience "professional burnout" after a solid decade of crime; few are active after age 35.

In addition to their incapacitation effect, higher prison populations may help to deter crime by making it a less attractive risk to would-be criminals. During the 1960s and 1970s, crime became a much less risky occupation. The probability of being arrested for any of the index crimes fell from 26 percent in 1960 to 20 percent in 1980. Today it has begun inching back up. More important, the likelihood of being imprisoned if arrested fell from 18 percent in 1960 to 6.2 percent in 1970. It rose to 7.3 percent in 1980, and to 8.4 percent in 1982. These seem like small increases, but law enforcement professionals are convinced that the professional criminal community regards shifts in the risk factor as critically as speculators consider a few point rise or fall in the prime rate.

In addition, several national legislative trends are starting to take effect. These include determinate sentencing, elimination of parole or less parole discretion, closer bail

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monitoring, waiving the right of felons to be tried in juvenile courts, and vigorous, renewed public appeals for the death penalty. Most important of all are the new prisons that communities are increasingly willing to finance and build. This allows the courts to imprison those who commit softer property crimes, such as auto theft, breaking and entering, and larceny, in communities where lack of space has forced the public to tolerate convicted felons in their midst.

In the wake of the Bernhard Goetz vigilante incident, we can expect that the increased possibility that a random victim is armed and will fight back—with potentially lethal results—must now be factored into the average street punk's risk equation. The threat of being shot for his pains will surely deter some criminals.

The third reason for falling crime rates is that public attitudes toward crime and the police have changed. Neighborhoods that once were hostile to policemen are frequently more welcoming now. Charges of police brutality and racism have declined as forces have become more integrated. "Professionalization"—usually a euphemism for more college-educated officers, at higher salaries—has been accompanied by efforts to reduce unnecessary brutality. Increased sensitivity toward victims has played a part in community acceptance as well.

According to the National Crime Prevention Council, at least 20 percent of the United States is currently covered by some type of neighborhood crime watch program. This may not have much direct effect on crime. "Best I can tell," says a veteran Detroit police reporter, "after your house has been broken into, the local crime-watch people come over and help you put new bars on the windows." But it is a clear sign that communities want to participate in their own defense, and are willing to work with the police to ensure safety.

Ironically but inevitably, particularly lurid crimes mobilize communities to concerted action. In Detroit, a rash of schoolgirl rapes galvanized the community; the city-wide rape rate actually diminished that quarter for the first time in years. In Chicago, the senseless street killing of basketball player Ben Wilson prompted local church and community defense efforts.

The best evidence of changing attitudes toward the police is that today prominent members of the black community call for a greater display of "police authority." The mayor of Detroit, who campaigned a decade ago on a promise of abolishing heavy-duty street crime units, promised to restore them last November.

Because the demographic downturn won't last more than another few years, and because economic resources are finite and communities are unwilling to allocate the bulk of them to warehousing criminals, a long-term crime strategy will require some innovation. The most promising new idea among law enforcement professionals is known as selective incapacitation. Once refined to a usable formula, it promises to predict high-rate offenders ("career criminals") early on so that the criminal justice system can effectively isolate these people from the society they prey upon.

Selective incapacitation is predicated on the well-tested theory that a small group of high-rate offenders commits a vast proportion of crime. In one study, the high-rate offenders comprised 23 percent of the group, but committed 61 percent of the crime. In this group, recidivism is rampant. Incapacitating such individuals should, therefore, reduce crime by the same disproportionate amount without having to double or triple prison space, which at current cost—approximately $60,000 per cell—is a real deterrent to communities.

"And let's hope this teaches you that crime doesn't pay."

© Punch/Rotheo (1946)

Sophisticated profiles of criminal behavior show that career criminals begin honing their craft young, usually by their early teens. If they could be recognized in their initial brushes with the law, the sentences they receive could better reflect the actual threat they pose. Such a tool would replace the largely arbitrary and subjective criteria used by judges, prosecutors, and prison officials in predicting future criminal behavior.

According to Brian Forst, vice president of INSLAW, Inc., the three strongest predictors of career criminality are juvenile crime records, evidence of drug use, and youthfulness, which is important because, generally, the older the criminal, the less society has to worry about from him. Prior arrests (not necessarily convictions) and involvement in burglary or robbery are also solid indicators. A reason to look beyond the conviction record is that most criminals are not caught, let alone convicted, for most crimes. Considering that few criminals specialize, what a high rate offender is charged with at the moment rarely reflects the full scope of his activities.

Some will object to the notion of locking up a 16 year-old rapist or robber for 20 years—until he no longer poses a real threat to the community—by use of a social science derived formula. Yet selective incapacitation has become a working definition for what cops and parole boards are trying to do. In fact, a trickle-down version of the theory—where prosecutors target known career criminals, and judges throw the proverbial book at them—is the best strategy that many communities have devised given scarce resources of cops and prison cells. Still, until the social scientists can devise a precision instrument, we will continue to rely on crude subjective assessments and human prediction.

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MICHIGAN

Detroit Tiger

JEFFREY HADDEN

For more than 30 years, Wayne County, Michigan, was a fiefdom of the United Auto Workers. Despite the good government pieties uttered by the UAW's national leaders, UAW porkchoppers dominated the proceedings in the old Wayne County courthouse in downtown Detroit, and later in the gleaming new City-County Building. The major object of the game was patronage. The county payroll became the ultimate refuge for UAW officials, and their relatives and friends. In expansive moments, the UAW allowed some of the spoils to fall to the AFL-CIO, from whom, until recently, the UAW was split.

Now, all that is changed. The county's first elected chief executive, William Lucas, a Harlem-born Democrat, has ended the UAW's grip on county government. In the process, he has gained a strong base of support both in black Detroit and the county's white suburbs. On three trips to other Michigan cities, where the reception for any black Detroit politician is usually icy, he has been enthusiastically received. The state is full of talk that Mr. Lucas is a likely candidate to take on either Governor James Blanchard in 1986 or Senator Donald Riegle in 1988—as a Republican. Mr. Lucas and the Michigan GOP are engaged in an extended flirtation, but he is leaving the door open to the state's Democrats, who thus far have gone out of their way to snub one of their party's best votegetters.

When Mr. Lucas first took office on January 1, 1983, he inherited a sprawling, debt-ridden county government. Wayne County, with 2.3 million residents, had been divided, often bitterly, between blacks in Detroit and whites in the suburbs to the west. Occasionally during the 1970s, suburban residents muttered about seceding from Wayne County, contending that its government was controlled by Detroiters loyal to Mayor Coleman Young. Since assuming the post of county executive, Mr. Lucas has cut the payroll by $22 million, slashed employee benefit costs by $32 million, reorganized the government, and put it on the road to paying its accumulated deficit of some $140 million.

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Headed for Trouble

To appreciate what Mr. Lucas has done, it is necessary to understand the way in which Wayne County has been misgoverned for years. The county, which now has 4,570 employees, was ostensibly controlled by a board of 27 county commissioners. The commissioners, however, were invisible to most voters in their districts. The commissioners were almost all Democrats, and usually wholly creatures of the unions. For example, in 1977, the UAW and AFL-CIO waged a battle over appointing a county labor director to supervise contract negotiations with county employees. One county commissioner told a reporter: "Commissioners were panic-stricken. They had little meetings in the halls. No matter who they voted for, a powerful labor group would be offended." Ultimately, the AFL-CIO candidate withdrew, and the UAW's man, a former official of a UAW local, got the appointment. Four months later, the AFL-CIO candidate, with the help of the UAW, was placed in the county public works department.

Few in county government, however, matched the élan with which Michael Berry, chairman of the county's powerful road commission, dispensed patronage. The road commission maintained county roads and parks, operated a separate public works department, and ran Detroit's Metropolitan and Willow Run airports. In the early 1980s, the agency had a budget of nearly $160 million. "Over the years," Mr. Berry once boasted to a *Detroit News* reporter, "I've probably gotten 1,000, 1,200, or even 1,500 people jobs here." Members of the road commission and its staff included a former secretary for a UAW regional director, the son of a UAW regional director, the former president of a UAW local, and the son-in-law of the former secretary for the UAW regional director.

County residents, prodded by Detroit's two major daily newspapers, finally had enough. A new county charter created the job of county executive. Mr. Lucas, then the county sheriff, defeated a popular white mayor from one of Wayne County's largest suburbs in the Democratic primary election. The general election was a walk-through. It was the second time Mr. Lucas had been catapulted into county office following a wave of public dissatisfaction. In 1968, Mr. Lucas, then a 40 year-old

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agent in the FBI's Detroit office, was appointed Wayne County's undersheriff. The new sheriff, Roman Gribbs, gained office when his predecessor, Peter Buback, resigned under pressure after it was discovered that a deputy had stored thousands of fixed traffic tickets in a chicken coop. When Mr. Gribbs ran for mayor 18 months later, Mr. Lucas became sheriff.

Upon taking office as chief executive, Mr. Lucas replaced the road commissioners, the county personnel director, and the labor director. Other officials were demoted or took early retirement. One of those who was fired was later convicted of arson in connection with a fire at his Detroit restaurant. (But balky county commissioners inadvertently saved Mr. Lucas from embarrassment when they blocked his appointment of the mayor of suburban Dearborn Heights as his public works director. The mayor was subsequently convicted of a bribery scheme in awarding a cable-TV contract for his city.)

To cut county labor costs, Mr. Lucas for several months imposed a four-day work week, with an attendant loss in pay, on county employees. After declaring that bargaining was at an impasse, he imposed a contract for the county's largest employee union, requiring concessions totaling about $3,000 per employee. The contract is now wending its way through the state court system.

The Art of Compromise

William Lucas, 57, is a tall, soft-spoken attorney. A veteran of the New York City Police Department and the U.S. Justice Department, the quietly-tailored, conciliatory Lucas provides a dramatic contrast to the abrasive Mayor Coleman Young. Mr. Lucas has gone out of his way not to deliberately tangle with Mayor Young. Early in his tenure, Mr. Lucas said: "I have no desire to play king of the hill with Coleman Young."

But when Mr. Lucas clamped a lid on costs for treating the medically indigent, which threatened to bankrupt the county, he came into conflict with Mayor Young, who accused him of turning his back on the city's poor. After some wrangling, Mr. Lucas worked out a deal with Governor Blanchard in which he guaranteed Detroit's major welfare hospital a certain minimum level of payments. But Mr. Lucas also reserved the right to move the patients, once they were stabilized, out of the $600 a day beds in the major hospital to $300 a day beds in smaller hospitals with which Mr. Lucas had arranged contracts. In return, the governor promised to have the state pick up the majority of the county's costs of treating the poor. Basically, Mr. Lucas succeeded in pushing the disproportionate cost of treating the poor borne by Wayne County onto the state. Ironically, in this he emulated Mayor Young, who several years earlier had done the same thing.

Since last summer, the political fallout over the hospital issue has cooled down, but Mr. Lucas has earned the enmity of labor-controlled Democratic Party regulars. He has been routinely ignored at state Democratic Party functions. While Mr. Lucas is still hedging and making contributions to Democratic candidates, he is seen as edging closer to the Republicans. When President Reagan arrived in Michigan during the presidential campaign, Mr. Lucas was on the tarmac to greet him. He attended both President Reagan's inauguration and his State of the Union address. When he was in Washington for the State of the Union, Mr. Lucas scheduled a meeting with State Republican Chairman Spencer Abraham, GOP pollster Robert Teeter, and others.

Will he, or won't he?

Mr. Lucas, when asked on one of his out-of-state swings if he could bring blacks into the GOP, remained coy about a party switch. But, he added, "if ever there was a transitional period" when blacks could be part of a Republican coalition, "it is now."

Minnesota

Unequal Justice

ELLIOT ROTHENBERG

The Fourteenth Amendment guarantees all Americans equal protection of the laws. But apparently it does not apply in the state of Minnesota.

On November 8, 1984, U.S. District Judge Miles Lord, formerly Minnesota's attorney general, decided to release two defendants who had been convicted of destroying government property. He did so not for legal or evidentiary reasons, but because he agreed with their political views.

Last August, "peace" protesters Barb Katt and John LaForge forced their way into a Sperry Corporation plant in a St. Paul suburb and bludgeoned a computer designed under contract with the Defense Department.

ELLIOT C. ROTHENBERG, *a practicing attorney, is president of the North Star Legal Foundation in Minneapolis.*

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Ms. Katt and Mr. LaForge then poured blood on the remains of the computer and distributed to startled company employees copies of a "citizens' indictment" of Sperry.

At their trial in federal court in October, the pair claimed that their "philosophy," a farrago of the writings of Daniel Berrigan and U.N. General Assembly resolutions, justified their destruction of any property used for U.S. defense efforts. The jury didn't swallow it, and convicted the defendants of destroying government property, for which they could have been sentenced to 10 years in prison and a $10,000 fine.

Instead, Judge Lord released the defendants with a six-month "suspended sentence." He read a statement in the courtroom calling the defendants "friends of the people" and attacking the defense industry as "warmongers." He lauded, by contrast, the "more sanctified endeavor" of the convicted pair "who by their acts attempt to counsel moderation and mediation as an alternative method of settling international disputes."

Judge Lord then excoriated Sperry employees for having allegedly "stole[n] $3.6 million worth of property" by embezzlement from the U.S. government and "wrongfully and feloniously juggling the books." No one at Sperry was ever convicted of or even prosecuted for such an offense. The failure to punish Sperry officials for this alleged crime, said the judge, gave him a "clear conscience" in freeing the defendants.

Finally, he condemned the American system of justice for providing "one type of justice for the rich and a lesser type for the poor." In this, Judge Lord was correct, but not in the way he intended. The "peace" movement in Minnesota is made up primarily of upper-middle-class liberals; unlike most Sperry employees, they have the financial resources to pursue their political ideology in the courts.

The Legalization of Vandalism

Only three months before, on August 3, a decision by the Minnesota Supreme Court, *State v. Brechon, et. al.*, similarly favored "peace" protesters committing criminal acts against Honeywell, Minnesota's largest defense contractor.

For two years, masses of protesters have been staging day-long blockades of Honeywell's Minneapolis headquarters, preventing employees and visitors from entering or leaving the building. Thousands have been arrested, and at their trials, the protesters have not denied their trespass on Honeywell's property and harassment of its employees. Using the same stratagem as the Sperry defendants, they have argued that the alleged moral superiority of their program of unilateral disarmament justifies any activity, legal or illegal, to prevent implementation of U.S. defense policies.

In June 1983, 36 of the first Honeywell protesters tried were acquitted, solely because of sympathy for their views, according to jurors who were interviewed by the media. Said one jury foreman, Susan Kela, "The jurors were unanimous on the moral issues. Who is not against nuclear war?" In response to a request by prosecutors, a special three-judge panel in October 1983 ordered that testimony about political beliefs be excluded from subsequent trials as irrelevant to whether a crime had been committed. The panel ruled that the law must be enforced regardless of the claimed sincerity of lawbreakers or whether judges and juries agreed with their politics.

But in its August decision, the Minnesota Supreme Court threw out the special court's order. Although appearing to acknowledge the irrelevance of the Honeywell blockaders' politics to the question of the guilt or innocence of criminal conduct, the court majority nevertheless declared that a trial judge could not exclude political testimony, but only advise jurors to "disregard defendants' subjective motives."

Since then, juries have acquitted more than half of the Honeywell protesters tried, even though none of the defendants denied that they had committed one or more crimes. Of the rest, sympathetic judges released the great majority with "suspended sentences." Only a few have even served a day in jail. The most prominent example of the latter is Erica Bouza, wife of Minneapolis police chief Anthony Bouza. Chief Bouza himself has shown unusual solicitude for the lawbreakers by providing them with coffee and doughnuts.

Give Law a Chance

Any concern for the rights of the Honeywell and Sperry employees victimized by the "peace" protesters' illegal conduct was conspicuously absent from the decisions of Judge Lord and the Minnesota Supreme Court. Instead, businesses engaged in activities that are entirely lawful but regarded as unacceptable by liberal elites were, explicitly by Judge Lord, and implicitly by the Minnesota Supreme Court, deemed unworthy of protection by the law.

The Minnesota Supreme Court also made clear that only some political beliefs could be introduced as evidence to exonerate lawbreakers' crimes. Specifically, it held that its Honeywell ruling was "distinguishable" from a 1981 Alaska Supreme Court decision barring anti-abortion protesters from excusing violations of criminal trespass laws by virtue of their moral and religious beliefs.

The Alaska court, incidentally, cited as precedent a 1978 Minneapolis Municipal Court decision excluding all evidence of a medical, religious, or philosophical nature offered by opponents of abortion to justify their trespass at an abortion clinic.

This is not to argue that those disapproving of abortion, any more than "peace" protesters, should be immune from the consequences of their criminal acts. On the contrary, all persons should be judged by the same law.

Once upon a time, liberals believed in this. They raised a howl whenever they thought that political ideology had improperly been brought into the judicial process, as in the Sacco-Vanzetti case of 1927. Today, however, the Minnesota federal and state courts are providing a double standard—one set of laws for "peace" protesters, another for abortion protesters. Where is the equal protection clause when we really need it?

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The $52 Billion Surplus

What Washington Can Learn from States and Cities

Larry Mone

The talk in Washington is of $200 billion budget deficits as far as the eye can see. But the story in statehouses and city halls is of renewed fiscal health. In 1984, according to Commerce Department estimates, state and local governments posted a combined revenue surplus of $52 billion. And a recent Treasury Department study predicted that if current tax and spending policies were continued, states and localities could rack up a combined surplus of $86.5 billion by 1989.

Why is it that state and local officials can balance their budgets while the feds cannot? One reason is that states and localities are spared the fastest growing expenses in the federal budget—defense and Social Security. A more important explanation is that governors and mayors have begun to put their houses in order.

Beginning in the mid-1970s, for example, state and local governments moved to put their pension plans on a sounder actuarial basis, by setting aside funds that cannot be used to finance daily government operations. In 1984, contributions to state and local employee pension funds exceeded outlays by $42.5 billion. This is in sharp contrast to the federal civil service retirement systems which still run on a pay-as-you-go basis. In 1984, federal benefit payouts exceeded employee contributions by $16.2 billion, a bill picked up by the U.S. Treasury and added to the overall federal deficit.

The state and local pension surplus is partly a demographic phenomenon. Thanks to a hiring boom in state and local governments during the 1960s, the ratio of employees to retirees is higher than in the federal government. The surplus should decline in the late 1990s, as state and local employees start to retire in large numbers.

While pension funds account for most of the state and local surplus, state operating budgets (including rainy-day funds) also ran a combined surplus of $5.3 billion in 1984. Indeed the most important lesson that Washington can learn from city halls and statehouses is how to keep spending under control.

The boom days of state and local government are over. From 1949 to 1975, state and local expenditures nearly doubled as a percentage of GNP—from 7.8 percent to 15 percent. By 1983, they had fallen to 13 percent. This has come about through a combination of what John Shannon, of the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations has called the three R's—"tax revolt, reduction in federal aid, and recession."

The tax revolt, which started in 1978 with California's Proposition 13, limited the ability of states and localities to finance growth in government programs through tax increases. Between 1978 and 1980, 32 states cut their personal income or general sales tax.

At the same time, federal aid to states and localities also began to decline. From 1950 to 1978, federal grants rose from 11 percent of state and local receipts to 23 percent. By 1983, that figure had dropped to 18 percent. Federal grants no longer provided an incentive for increased spending on the state and local level.

Finally, the two recessions between 1978 and 1983, and the revenue shortfalls that resulted from them, induced greater fiscal conservatism on the part of the states.

Budgetbusters

These factors forced state and local governments to tighten their belts in a number of ways.

In New Jersey, a management study undertaken by private sector executives took a comprehensive look at inefficiencies in state government. Many of the recommendations of this mini-Grace Commission were implemented, including reducing the number of supervisory personnel in state agencies and reassigning them to "on-the-line" positions.

A full-scale effort to modernize and computerize state administration also brought in significant savings. Computerizing the welfare system allowed the state to collect a large number of child-support payments from delinquent fathers, saving the state over $15 million in welfare costs. Overall, New Jersey was able to reduce spending by $100 million out of a total budget of $6.8 billion in fiscal 1984.

In California, Governor George Deukmejian was able to achieve even more substantial reductions in spending through the use of the line-item veto. By blue-penciling hundreds of individual items in the state's budget, he shaved $1.2 billion off the $22 billion appropriated by the legislature for 1983.

Governor Deukmejian's vetoes struck down spending along a number of avenues. He made across-the-board reductions in merit salary hikes and inflation allowances for agency budgets. He also cut back on agencies whose functions could be more appropriately managed by the private sector, such as the California Energy Commission (the state's own version of the Department of Energy). Finally, Governor Deukmejian attacked the kinds of boondoggles that were funded for the benefit of special economic interests in the state—a good example being the $2 million "Mobile Pyrolizer," a machine designed to convert agricultural waste into fuel pellets. The only problem was that it took two 50-foot trailers to move it and cost $37 to produce a ton of fuel that could be sold for only $15.

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These kinds of actions have had a real impact on the growth of state and local government. Between 1954 and 1978, the average annual increase of state and local expenditures per capita was 4.5 percent. From 1978 to 1983 per capita expenditures fell by a cumulative 6.5 percent.

For the same 1954–78 period, annual public employment growth in the state and local sector, adjusted for population, averaged three percent. In the post-Proposition 13 Era, 1978–83, state and local governments decreased public employment at an annual rate of one percent.

Era of Limits

The states have used both old and new devices to keep spending in check. Forty-nine of the 50 states have a constitutional or statutory requirement for a balanced budget. While these laws have been on the books for many years, the new fiscal conservatism produced by the tax revolt has increased their effectiveness. From fiscal 1978 to fiscal 1985, only 20 instances of deficits on the state level have been recorded—five of them in Vermont, the only state without a balanced budget requirement. This contrasts with the federal government, which has run deficits in 30 of the last 35 years.

The states are also experimenting with new devices to increase fiscal discipline. Taxation or expenditure limits (TELs), which limit the growth in state taxes and spending, have been adopted in 19 states. In 1980, Massachusetts passed Proposition 2½, establishing a constitutional property tax limit of 2.5 percent. The effects on taxes and spending have been dramatic. In 1980, the state and local revenue burden in Massachusetts totaled 16.3 percent of personal income. By 1983, it had dropped to 14.5 percent. Spending in 1980, which totaled 20.8 percent of personal income, also declined over the next three years to 17.1 percent. The reduction in taxes and spending have helped to produce an unprecedented boom in the Bay State's economy.

The severity of the 1982 recession made it difficult for states to pay their bills. One response was to raise taxes, and in 1983, 16 states raised their personal income tax while 12 raised their general sales tax. Property tax growth on the local level was also strong, with an 11 percent average increase nationwide.

These tax increases, however, explain only a part of the current financial resurgence of states and localities. Revenue forecasters miscalculated the strength of the 1983 economic recovery as much as they had underestimated the severity of the 1982 recession. In 1983, tax revenues exceeded budget estimates by over $9 billion. Indeed, the Treasury Department estimates that state and local revenues rose by $26.1 billion in 1983, and only $8.9 billion of this increase could be attributed to higher taxes. The remainder, $17.2 billion, was the fiscal dividend from economic growth.

The lesson from the states and localities is clear. Governments cannot tax their way out of deficits. Strict limits on taxes and spending, coupled with policies that promote economic growth, are the only sure prescription for fiscal health. ☎

District of Columbia

Why the Other Washington Doesn't Work

JOHN A. BARNES AND JOHN H. FUND

Until 3 A.M. on election night, when Walter Mondale was finally declared the winner of his home state of Minnesota, the only Mondale island in the Reagan sea projected on network television maps was a flashing pinpoint of light halfway down the eastern seaboard—the defiantly Democratic stronghold of Washington, D.C.

Since receiving the right to vote for President in 1964, the District of Columbia has never come close to backing the Republican candidate. Washington, in fact, was the only electoral jurisdiction where the Democratic nominee actually fared better in 1984 than in 1980. This electoral behavior is only the most apparent of the many paradoxes that make the city of Washington wholly unlike the nation of which it is the capital.

While the rest of the country has a strong tradition of competition between the parties, Washington has no Republican Party worthy of mention. While the states are "sovereign" and their citizens take as a given their right to elect local officials, Washington, D.C. continues to be involved in a long, drawn-out debate over how much control it should have over its own affairs.

Further, as most residents know, there are really two Washingtons. There is the Washington celebrated daily in the pages of the *Washington Post* "Style" section: the city of marble monuments, the playground of national policymakers who live and shop in trendy Georgetown and gentrified Capitol Hill. It is overwhelmingly white and gives the city as a whole a higher per capita income than any state except oil-rich Alaska: $12,039.

The Other Washington is not physically far removed, but for most people in the first category, it may as well be light years. This is the Washington on the far bank of the Anacostia River and the public housing projects of Northeast and Southwest Washington. Seventy percent

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of the District's residents are black, and though many of them are comfortably middle-class, Washington has a higher proportion of people on welfare—14 percent—than every state in the union. The proximity of such wealth to such poverty breeds a sky-high crime rate.

But despite the yawning disparities between the two Washingtons, they both share the same vision of government: more. The first Washington is made up of people who work either directly for the federal bureaucracy or in fields where prosperity is dependent on government. In addition to AFDC, Medicaid, and other federal programs, the Other Washington receives a special allotment of $600 million a year to support its extremely generous social welfare structure. Talk of budget cuts is strenuously avoided wherever possible.

President Reagan is none too popular, though he has been more generous with federal aid to the city than Jimmy Carter was. At the city's ceremony marking Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday in 1983, a five-year-old boy addressing an audience that included the mayor and most leading city officials confidently declared that if Reverend King were alive today, he would be like Moses "telling the Pharoah Reagan to 'Let my people go.'" The audience cheered wildly.

Fail, Columbia!

But the insatiable desire for more federal money hides yet another paradox: Washington is the only city in America managed directly by the federal government, a situation the locals want very much to change. That's not surprising: like the Postal Service and Amtrak, the District of Columbia has not exactly been an advertisement for the virtues of federal management. Federal control since the city's founding in 1790 has created an urban nightmare: water bills that are often late or grossly wrong; a school system generally graded as one of the worst in the nation (though it has been improving lately); broken traffic lights at busy intersections.

Unlike most cities, Washington, D.C. did not develop to serve an economic purpose. It was founded over a dinner between Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, when the former pledged the help of the southern states in retiring the nation's Revolutionary War debts, if the latter would support the creation of a new federal capital closer to the South than Philadelphia. We've been paying ever since.

Until 1874, the city had its own limited government, but it was abolished after Congress discovered huge amounts of public money missing from the city treasury and the territorial governor fled to Mexico to avoid prosecution. Congress declared the city unfit to govern itself and ushered in a period of direct congressional control that acted as a political reform school for the city.

For the next century, the House and Senate District of Columbia Committees functioned, in effect, as the city council, approving the city's budget and passing its ordinances. They determined the appropriate penalties for littering and jaywalking and, in one celebrated instance in the early 1960s, the House of Representatives spent hours debating whether it was legal to fly a kite within the city limits.

These committees, of course, were made up of members of Congress elected by constituents who cared almost nothing about what happened to Washington's residents. And as the city's black population grew, that control became increasingly tinged with racism. During the Depression of the early 1930s, for instance, the head of the city's welfare agency appealed to the House District Appropriations Subcommittee for emergency funds. The chairman turned him down flat, saying, "I'd never keep my seat in Congress. My constituents would never stand for spending all that money on niggers."

Barrying the Hatchet

These same members of Congress laid the foundation for the city's current problems by using the city government as a dumping ground for patronage employees and federal bureaucrats found too incompetent for the federal service but who could not be fired. When limited "Home Rule" was re-established after a century in 1974, the officials who took over found themselves saddled with a huge number of political hacks who owed their jobs to influential friends and relatives on the Hill.

Despite Home Rule, the city stays on a tight federal leash. Citizens of the District may now elect their own mayor and city council, but their powers remain circumscribed by Congress. The budget, drawn up annually by the mayor, is only a proposal. Congress can and frequently does make major changes before it becomes law.

As recently as 1981, Congress forbade the city from buying 25 new police cars, charging patients at public health clinics more than $12 a visit, and boycotting any state that has not ratified the equal rights amendment. Congress holds down cab fares, and parking tickets to members of Congress are not allowed. "You just give your ticket to the Sergeant-at-Arms [of the House] and he takes care of it," says former Arizona congressman, Jim McNulty.

Presiding over the Other Washington is Mayor Marion S. Barry, first elected in 1978. A big, soft-spoken man, he revels in the national and even international exposure his role as mayor of the nation's capital gives him. If the District ever succeeds in getting full congressional representation, he is a strong bet to become one of the senators. If a Democratic administration returns in 1988, he could wind up with a top cabinet position.

Mr. Barry's is an unlikely rise to power and respectability in the national political community. Born the son of a Mississippi sharecropper, he was trained as a chemist. But the segregation of the South quickly drove him into the more radical arm of the civil rights movement.

Just how radical may be indicated by Mr. Barry's decision while at college in the mid-1950s to change his middle name from simply the initial "S" to "Shepilov." He says he plucked the name out of a newspaper. Considering the rarity of the name in this country and the source of his inspiration, his model may have been D.T. Shepilov, a former editor of *Pravda* and the Soviet foreign minister at the time.

While he has shed the radical rhetoric and gone "establishment," Mr. Barry has in no way changed his basic political positions. In fact, the entire city political struc-

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ture (even the tiny and almost non-existent Republican Party), is monolithically liberal and in harmony with anything described as "progressive." One of the constituency groups Mr. Barry has been careful to cultivate are organized homosexuals, who make up a substantial part of his support.

Army of the Potomac

As any visitor to a D.C. government office building can readily attest, the District government fields a bureaucratic army rivaled by no other major city or state. According to the *Washington Monthly*, Pennsylvania has 386 state and local employees for every 10,000 residents. Big government-loving Massachusetts has 444. But the D.C. government tops them all at 730 for every 10,000 residents.

But for all the high taxes and large number of government workers, what do the poor, mostly black residents of Washington get for their money? Frequently, incompetence and cronyism at best, and possibly corruption at worst.

King of the hill.

For instance, Mr. Barry's former wife, Mary Treadwell, was convicted and jailed in 1983 on charges of conspiracy to defraud the federal government and the tenants of a housing project she controlled under the umbrella of Youth Pride Inc., an anti-poverty program she and Mr. Barry ran together in the late 1960s and early 1970s. While Mr. Barry was never implicated, it apparently never occurred to him to ask his wife how she could afford a Mercedes-Benz, expensive clothes, jewelry, and other accoutrements of high living while running a poverty program.

Mr. Barry was also accused of using cocaine or watching others use cocaine during a visit to the California Steak House, a now-defunct strip joint in the city's 14th Street red-light district. The charges were never proved and Mr. Barry claimed to be in the place only to pick up a campaign contribution.

On another occasion, when it was revealed that Robert Moore, the former director of the city housing agency, had apparently diverted city construction crews and materials to do repairs on his own house, Mr. Barry shrugged it off by saying, "I don't have the authority to prosecute anybody."

The criminal justice system has come in for heated criticism from surrounding jurisdictions in Virginia and Maryland. It is not unusual for criminals who commit crimes in the suburbs to dash for the District, where, if they are arrested, they are often turned loose without bail.

Mayor Barry's administration has not in any way been an unrelieved disaster. Even his harshest critics agree he has done a great deal to straighten out the city's once hopelessly tangled finances. The chronically potholed streets have started to receive attention and the elections board, which presided over a near-fiasco in 1982 when thousands had trouble voting, ran much more smoothly last time around. While recent polls show most residents think the mayor is doing a good or excellent job, that number falls dramatically when respondents are asked about the caliber of people he has appointed to high office.

State of Uncertainty

So Washington, D.C. is caught in a vicious circle: most of its present woes have their roots in the history of federal control over the city, but the performance of the local administration has not encouraged the federal overlords on the Hill to grant more autonomy.

The Voting Rights Amendment, passed by Congress and sent to the states for ratification in 1978, would have given city residents full senatorial and congressional representation as though it were a state. So far ratified by only 14 of the necessary 38 states, it will likely die a quiet death this August because most state officials have become convinced the city-state should not be treated as an equal of the other states. After that, some city officials pin their hopes on statehood, but once again, they may have shot themselves in the foot before starting. Aside from the fact that the GOP would not support a plan that gave Democrats two more votes in the Senate, the big stumbling block is the proposed constitution the city has sent to Capitol Hill. Some of its more interesting provisions:

1) All public employees, including police and fire officers, would have the right to strike, a right banned by federal law. One of the drafters of the constitution stated this right would even extend to National Guard personnel mobilized in an emergency. The constitution would even repeal the concept of "sovereign immunity," and hold all public employees, including police or fire officers, accountable in the courts for their actions.

2) The constitution mandates that every citizen has a right to a job or "an income equivalent to meet human

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needs." A motion to make this contingent on the city's ability to pay was voted down by the convention.

3) The constitution declares "inviolate" the right to have sex with whomever and whatever one chooses. Since the age of consent in the District is 16, parents would have no constitutional right to control the sexual activities of their minor children.

4) Any defendant in a criminal procedure would have the right to see any and all evidence possessed by the prosecution, cannot be denied bail to protect the community, and must be represented by "competent counsel." So an indicted drug dealer, represented by his competent attorney, posts bond and walks out of court with the names and addresses of the undercover informants who landed him there.

By the way, for those who have been reassured by 10 years of Home Rule that the people of the District would not elect "radicals," one of the freely elected members of the convention that drafted this document was Maurice Jackson, the District chairman of the Communist Party.

In its present form, the constitution (and statehood) are likely to go nowhere. What then, is the answer? There are no easy ones, but allowing city residents to vote for Maryland senators might be a way of securing congressional representation without upsetting the balance of power in Congress. Meanwhile, how would George Washington react if he could come back and see the assault on common sense taking place in the city that bears his name?

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Post Coitum Tristrum

Modern Fiction's Sex Offenders

Judith Chettle

It has not been easy in recent years to maintain the distinction between discriminating readers of contemporary literature and the presumed perverts who slink into adult book stores and movies. The respectable reader can, by a conscientious perusal of what the critics have praised, be just as acquainted with sexual matters once thought taboo in decent society. Sodomy, sadism, fellatio, and cunnilingus have become literary staples as familiar as death from consumption, unrequited love, and the loss of great fortunes once were. In part, this has been a normal corrective response, a reaction against excesses of prudery, but it is also the result of changes in political and philosophical attitudes to sex and society.

The sexual revolution of the last 20 years has been more socially devastating than the French Revolution. No age group, no sex, no race, no class has been excluded from its message or immune to its influence. No aspect of life, least of all literature, has been untouched.

In the past, the place of sex in literature was as cyclical as the weather, the economy, and the luck of men and women. Chaucer, Shakespeare, and the Elizabethans treated it as an absurd if natural part of life. The Puritans reacted against what they perceived as celebrations of licentiousness, but after the Restoration, attitudes again changed so that by the 18th century sexual adventures in literature were commonplace. The hero of one Smollett novel even suffers from venereal disease. Sexual adventures, seductions, and lusting scoundrels were described in an easygoing, at times almost affectionate manner. There was no obligation to score points, to make statements about the liberation of the psyche, or the imperative of orgasm. Sex was simply a natural fact of life, something that occurred, if you were fortunate, many times on the journey between birth and death.

The Victorians, who became a byword for prudery, preferred to maintain a general silence on the subject. It was the one lurking presence that threatened to disrupt the celebration of progress in which they were engaged. Sexual tension, which is often the key to much human behavior, is conspicuously absent from Victorian literature: the door to the bedroom shuts in the evening and opens again only in the morning.

After World War I, the pendulum began to swing slowly in the other direction, though Waugh, Huxley, and Lawrence, all once thought daring and naughty, now seem almost as piquantly evasive as their Victorian predecessors. Even Lawrence's notorious *Lady Chatterley's Lover,* though written with the same sensuous power that is present in "The Song of Solomon," is as useful for really understanding the mechanics of sex as Jerome K. Jerome's *Three Men in a Boat* might be to a novice sailor.

Cultural Revolution

But the pace picked up after World War II, when narrow definitions of obscenity were successfully questioned in courts both in England and America. A postwar generation, impatient with the priggish complacency of the past and the laws defining personal conduct, began to question all authority, particularly moral authority. The language of politics was appropriated for personal and more self-centered ends—the legalization of drugs, the removal of barriers to sex before, after, or instead of marriage, abortion on demand, liberal divorce laws, and the recognition of homosexuality as a legitimate preference. Writers, musicians, and artists expressed their sympathy with these goals by denouncing any necessity for moral authority, social convention, and traditional form.

The moment, not the hour, was to be celebrated. This was possible in a limited sense in the theater—*Hair* was a dazzling spectacle a decade or so ago, though it might have little to say to the 80s. But literature is not so evanescent. For good or ill, it remains a permanent record. And here the pendulum swung as wildly as a Geiger counter on a uranium mine. Every aspect of sexuality and sexual liberty was suddenly legitimate material for writers, and it was thought fitting to give sex not merely a significant but the central role in any work.

Sexual passages now replaced the ubiquitous 19th century invocations of the Almighty. Men and women worried about their sexual performance rather than the possibility of damnation, about their potential for

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orgasm rather than the immortality of their souls. Moral dilemmas of a philosophical kind were replaced by the need to copulate as frequently and as variously as possible. George Orwell's laugh from the belly became an uncontrollable leer that dominated most plots, defined the lives of the characters, and seemed the major focus of their ambition.

In more recent years, writers like Reynolds Price, Scott Spencer, John Irving, William Styron, Norman Mailer, John Updike, E.L. Doctorow, and John Hawkes have given sex so prominent a place in their works that it seems disproportionately to dominate the story.

Hawkes, for example, celebrates sex lyrically but unremittingly. His hero, Cyril, in *The Blood Oranges* boasts:

> Need I insist that the only enemy of the mature marriage is monogamy? That anything less than sexual multiplicity (body upon body, voice on voice) is naive? That our sexual selves are merely idylers (sic) in a vast wood?

And he proceeds to prove his claim. E.L. Doctorow, acutely sensitive to fashion, explicitly describes in *Loon Lake* how 80 to 100 men line up to rape the mentally retarded Fanny the Fat Lady of a travelling freak show. Scott Spencer devotes so much space to detailed accounts of lovemaking that at times it is hard to know whether one is reading a work of fiction or a how-to-book. John Irving creates characters who mutilate, masquerade as animals to extend their sexual versatility, commit incest, and take sexual advantage of unconscious, badly burned patients. Even in William Styron's acclaimed *Sophie's Choice*, there are numerous, lengthy, and explicit passages, as if sex, and not the tragedy of Sophie's life, was the point of the story.

Sex and Politics

Some writers sought to justify their treatment of sex in terms of a fashionable political philosophy, using the rhetoric of Marxism to describe their aims, though ironically, Marxist countries are notoriously prudish about such matters. For them, the sexual revolution was as much a political as a sociological phenomenon.

Writer Robert Heinlein proclaims in *Stranger in a Strange Land* "the miracle of bipolar reproduction" [sex] as a way of bringing about a revolution of feeling. His hero, Michael Smith, preaches the virtues of collective sexual activity and establishes communal "nests" which succeed in eliminating jealousy, possessiveness, and anger.

Liberated sexual behavior and writing was seen as a defeat for the bourgeoisie and their narrow, inhibiting values. Similarly, lesbian and homosexual grievances were discussed in terms more appropriate to subjects of totalitarian states. Radical feminists talked of sex in language usually reserved for the class struggle—men were the oppressor class, women the oppressed. Women were seen as the victims of a capitalist, economic system organized by males, and rape was regarded as an act of war. In *The Women's Room*, Marilyn French describes the women who were the dutiful suburban wives of the 1950s and their transition to more radical views. As one of her leading characters puts it:

> Whatever they may be in public life, whatever their relation with men, in their relations with women, all men are rapists, and that's all they are. They rape us with their eyes, their laws, and their codes. . . . For forty-odd years I've been a member of an oppressed people consorting with the enemy, advancing the enemy's cause. In some places that's called slavery. I'm through with it. I want to work with these women, those who give their lives up for our [feminist] cause.

What is essentially a private and social matter became, like so much in the late 20th century, a political issue. An act of deep personal responsibility was burdened with all the baggage of the age—sloppy reasoning, unrealistic expectations, and the illusion that happiness can be legally prescribed and guaranteed with the same authority as voting rights, fair trials, and highway codes.

Perhaps contemporary attitudes towards sex were in reality more a retreat than the advance they appeared to be. Unable to examine the larger questions satisfactorily, and perhaps uneasy that such questions still lingered—Banquo's ghost haunting our revels of liberation—writers embraced sex in all its varieties as a far easier subject to deal with. Their advocacy of modernism gave them a cloak of intellectual respectability, ultimately as insubstantial as the Emperor's new clothes.

There is a further problem with making sex the central part of any book: a writer, to ensure his reputation for originality, must always go one better than his competitors. New couplings, ever more exotic groupings, and innovative variations must be devised, reaching an all-time low in the books by Jerzy Kosinski, where the plot

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stays the same—tall, dark, enigmatic stranger pursues beautiful, younger woman—but the sex gets progressively kinkier in each succeeding book. In *Passion Play,* the polo-playing hero, Fabian, travels around the country in his spacious van home, having sexual encounters with transsexuals, anonymous members of a sex club, underage girls, and others whom he first restrains with stable tackle and riding harnesses. "A swarm of bridles and webs . . . waited in the corner of the room . . . one by one he would place them upon her, harnessing and rigging her with them . . ." and so on.

Moral dilemmas of a philosophical kind were replaced by the need to copulate as frequently and as variously as possible.

It can be argued that even those books which profess to be militantly frank have not dealt with the more profound aspects of sex. They have been eloquent about the how-tos and the who-tos but they have never quite satisfactorily grappled with the wider implications of sex. The pill, legalized abortion, antibiotics for venereal diseases, vasectomies, and so on have minimized some of its more profound consequences, but sex is still an act of enormously explosive potential: an act of putative creation that mimics on a much smaller scale the cosmic origins of life. And there are other questions that could be raised—why does sex drive men and women to violence, to murder, to infidelity, to the breaking of universal taboos? Why should celibacy be regarded as the religious ideal for some faiths? But this sort of question is seldom even asked. As a result, sex is reduced to a sort of "feel good about yourself" exercise routine, which is a disservice to both readers and literature.

What so many contemporary writers seem to forget is the fact that, though it is an act of obliteration, of love, of comfort, of necessity, it is no answer to those questions which, however much we may pretend otherwise, still need to be addressed. The eternal imponderables of why there is suffering, pain, injustice, unfairness, and why we are here in this vast universe, still remain.

But there are signs that a reaction is setting in. Horrified by herpes, increasing teenage pregnancies, child pornography, burgeoning divorce statistics, and the epidemic of AIDS, more and more people are questioning promiscuity and value-free standards of behavior. Frothy life-style pages and magazines now proclaim the "new celibacy," the "emptiness of sex without commitment," and the "need for monogamy." In fiction, a number of books recently on the bestseller list, among them Anne Tyler's *Dinner at the Homesick Restaurant,* Gail Godwin's *A Mother and Two Daughters,* and Judith Guest's *Ordinary People,* reflect this desire for affirmations of family ties, of love, of responsibilities, and a sense of some purpose. Sex has not been banished from these books. It has its due place in the order of things, but it is now a more mature and responsible creation, no longer the exhibitionistic, self-centered brat that was so recently let loose to shock and titillate while it postured across the pages. The fact that books like these are selling so well is a tribute to the changing times and an acknowledgment of needs that have too long been neglected.

Another pointer is the extraordinary revival of interest in the British writer Barbara Pym who, though her work had been compared to Jane Austen's, was unable to persuade her publisher to accept any of her writings in the 1970s. Pym's novels all deal with spinsters and Anglican clergymen. They are chronicles of manners and were deemed too tepid and sexless for contemporary taste at that time. A year before her death in 1980, however, a new Pym book was published, and since then not only have all her works been reprinted in both hard and paperback editions, but a collection of her letters appeared earlier this year—always an indication of wide interest.

Perhaps most notable of all is the recent success of *". . . And Ladies of The Club"* by Helen Hooven Santmyer. On the bestseller list for over nine months, the book is a weighty, multi-family saga set in a small Ohio town where marriage celebrations are followed next by birth announcements without any intervening obligatory explicit sexual passages.

The Emperor's New Clothes

Some middle ground does need to exist—some place between the simpering denial and loud silence of the Victorian writers, and the recent obsessive detailing of every possible nuance of copulation, and these books are hopeful portents for the times ahead. The knowledge of the sexual element in the lives of characters in novels is germane to our understanding, but mere descriptions of the parts of the body being moved about can only be done in so many ways.

And such description adds little if anything to our knowledge of the characters doing all the moving about. They are awfully energetic, suspiciously so, but they never have much to say either before or after. Ultimately we learn little about either the characters or the essence of an act which still retains its mysterious elusiveness.

Fearful perhaps of being pronounced unfashionable, irrelevant, repressed psychologically and physically unsound, even conservative, the writers of the last two decades have articulated with little or no thought the tenets of the sexual revolution. It is a revolution which, like most other revolutions, is turning out to have delivered much less than it promised.

Although it is still too early to tell, we seem poised on the cusp of a new cycle, a time for a reassessment of artistic perceptions and ideals. The best writers have always responded to the underlying regenerative impulses released by change. At its most profound, changes in fashion mean another chance, another go at the brass ring, an opportunity perhaps to gain once and for all an exact insight or a vision of a universal truth.

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"a truly commendable piece of work"

Charles Burton Marshall
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The Politics of the Nuclear Freeze

by Adam M. Garfinkle

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BOOK REVIEWS

Reducing Our Options

The Pentagon and the Art of War, *by Edward Luttwak (New York: Institute for Contemporary Studies/Simon and Schuster, $17.95).*

Reviewed by Seth Cropsey

The Pentagon and the Art of War is a straightforward, harsh attack on the American military from a defense intellectual who is ordinarily identified as a hawk. Its author, Edward Luttwak, has earned a reputation in recent years by criticizing the American military for failing to possess the virtues he has praised formerly in works on the Israeli Army and on the strategies of both Imperial Rome and the Soviet Union.

The Pentagon and the Art of War is made up of three interwoven parts: 1) Mr. Luttwak's understanding of the fundamentals of the art of war; 2) his assertion that the American armed forces and those in Congress who oversee the military budget fail to grasp these; and 3) his prescriptions about how to remedy the situation. It is an intelligent, useful book, but when Mr. Luttwak gets away from the art of war and into his ideas about policy, the argument, owing to its disregard of both democratic political institutions and the geopolitical position of the United States as a maritime power, turns impractical and doctrinaire.

SETH CROPSEY *is deputy undersecretary of the Navy.*

As a student of war and strategy, Mr. Luttwak's chief interests are how to accomplish political goals without war, and then how to defeat the enemy if war is the only recourse. Mr. Luttwak contends that Congress, together with what he calls the "Administrator's Delusion," conspire to divert national attention from these objects. Thus, "fraud, waste, and mismanagement—the classic trio—(are) endlessly pursued . . . and endlessly denounced, even though they account for mere percentage points of the total budget, and have no relevance to the failure of combat." The January 1984 Annual Report of the Defense Department to Congress, for example, observes under the heading of "Activities to Curb Waste, Fraud, and Abuse," that in the previous year 16,357 cases were closed, 8023 were referred for prosecution or administrative action, 657 convictions were obtained, and $14.8 million was recovered. Mr. Luttwak notes that this represents 0.00006 percent of the total Pentagon budget.

The problem is that the size and complexity of the military establishment focus media attention on the minutest, most easily grasped things . . .

Do the overpriced claw-hammer and toilet seat affairs show that the public is frivolous about national defense? No, says Mr. Luttwak: the problem is that the size and complexity of the military establishment focus media attention on the minutest, most easily grasped things in the hope that a clue about the purchase of a small part will yield an important understanding about the effectiveness of the whole.

And this is the root of most evil. Mr. Luttwak's strongest argument is that war is not commerce, that it cannot be fathomed or planned according to the optimal solution approach of a businessman, who need not worry about being bombed by a vanquished competitor, or of an engineer, who is not required to span a river that alters its course after the drawings are done. The most important elements of military power cannot be reduced to numbers and graphs.

The Perils of Efficiency

Commercial efficiency, for example, dictates standardization of as many weapons as possible for use by the various services; but if our armed forces possessed only one type of anti-aircraft missile, enemy pilots would have a much easier job. More models, however, cost more money because of the multiple research and development, production, and spare-parts costs, and also because any economies of scale are inevitably shortened. Efficient

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it's not, but combat effective? Ask the tactical action officer aboard a ship who has to worry about sixteen different types of enemy cruise missiles.

The same principle applies to weapons development: business efficiency requires proceeding at a steady pace, avoiding wasteful investment in designs that don't pan out, evaluating comparative models and making optimal use of what one learns in the process. The alternative to Mr. Luttwak's description of the commercial model is nowhere near as efficient; it demands forging ahead simultaneously on several ideas as quickly as possible, without waiting for all possible evaluation results. This means increased modification costs and substantial overtime charges. The result will surely cost more, but if it can provide superiority for our forces, who, except an enemy, would prefer the more cost-effective "solution?"

With military personnel, the same conflict exists with notions of business efficiency. In business, people are sent where their skills are needed. Period. For Mr. Luttwak, the cohesion of a fighting unit is so important to its success that it must be weighed against the perfect match of skills and individuals. "Strangers cannot be expected to risk their lives for one another, and the effectiveness of the unit will suffer accordingly as soon as there is any fighting to be done."

White-Collar Soldiers

Other crucial intangibles, such as leadership and morale, are equally resistant to commercial managerial technique and quantification. In short, "the most important aspects of military power . . . happen to be non-measurable."

Mr. Luttwak accuses the armed forces of not grasping this fundamental truth. Instead, they concentrate on numbers, and worry too much about bureaucratic and political maneuvering. He begins his criticism at the beginning—where officers are educated.

A hundred and fifty years ago, when the United States was untamed, teaching lieutenants how to build bridges, roads, and ports made sense. In a land of Davy Crocketts and rifle-toting pioneer farmers, leadership would be strengthened by an individual officer's grasp of social graces and knowledge of books. But in our time, this kind of training is inappropriate, argues Mr. Luttwak. "It is the skill and aptitudes of war that are missing, and the [service] academies certainly do not provide them. Their aim is quite clearly to educate not young combat leaders but future generals and admirals—not strategically minded or tactically cunning, but technically sophisticated, bureaucratically adept, and politically sensitive."

> . . . Mr. Luttwak is himself a good illustration of why taking all military advice from one expert source is a bad idea.

The absence of war puts an added premium on these qualities. In peace, nothing becomes the military profession so much as recruiting, training, research, purchase, supply, and the bureaucratic infighting required to direct these functions. Mr. Luttwak criticizes the Pentagon's multiplicity of bureaucratic backwaters, and the overlapping and repetitive clusters of management that have flourished like barnacles on a stationary ship. He calls attention to the remoteness of staff officers from the daily operational realities of forces in the field, and he deplores the excess of supervision as corrosive of useful initiative.

Breaking Up Is Hard to Do

What's the solution to all this? Mr. Luttwak has one—and only one—answer. Reform our armed forces so that a Prussian-style general staff headed by an omnipotent military officer holds both operational responsibility for the training and employment of all American forces, and sole responsibility for advising the President and his Cabinet. This is an old idea that has seen many forms since von Moltke's innovative army staff—which never had anything to do with directing other services—succeeded in providing good tactical, but terrible strategic, advice to several generations of German army officers beginning in the late 19th century. Mr. Luttwak wants to transplant that system here and extend its reach over the entire military in the hope that central authority is a cure for aught that ails.

His proposal, if implemented, would be a significant change from the system the United States has relied on since World War II. Under this structure, the chiefs of the services, along with a chairman, make up a five-man group that advises the Secretary of Defense and the President on all military issues. The current system was designed for, and retains the virtue of, offering the executive the broadest range of military options.

This is absolutely indispensable for the United States, whose lifeblood depends on the sea yet is required to resist the predations of an ambitious, distant land power. Our defense requires, therefore, not only a superior army, navy, and air force, but superior judgment in knowing when and where to employ each—policy decisions, in other words. Mr. Luttwak is as unmindful of the diverse requirements of American security as he is insensitive to the democratic traditions that leave ultimate military policy decisions in the hands of elected leaders.

A powerful military officer with full authority over the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marines could certainly resolve the bureaucratic inter-service competition that offends Mr. Luttwak so; but could a single officer give the President the best advice about how to use land, sea,

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and air forces separately—and together?

Probably not, and Mr. Luttwak is himself a good illustration of why taking all military advice from one expert source is a bad idea. He is an authority on the subject that interests him most—warfare on land—and a President would be well-served by access to the advice of an officer with similar breadth. But he would be ill-served by having to rely on the same officer, or Mr. Luttwak, for advice about naval matters.

It is surprising that Mr. Luttwak has only one solution to all problems.

Mr. Luttwak's bureaucratic solution to this "strategy gap" takes no lessons, ironically, from his own earlier criticism of the military. The way to ensure multi-service expertise, he says, is to assign officers on the proposed national staff occasional "working tours with all services other than the one he came from." What's an army infantry officer going to do on one of these tours? Fly an Air Force jet? Command a submarine? Of course not. He will end up in a staff position at the Pentagon, of the exact kind that Mr. Luttwak elsewhere deplores. Thus, the national staff upon which all services would rely would be composed of people who have had no operational experience for years, a deficiency that Mr. Luttwak justly condemns. In fact, nowhere does Mr. Luttwak explain how a national staff would avoid the very faults he finds with existing joint and service staffs. One can only speculate that he prefers the excesses of pointy-headed, armchair strategizing to those of inter-service rivalry.

But if Mr. Luttwak can be excused for advocating too theoretical a policy or one that neglects the broad requirements of American security, it is impossible to overlook his ignorance that a democratic nation's fate depends equally on the people's ability to rule in domestic as well as in defense or foreign affairs. The problem is not that a senior military officer with the powers Mr. Luttwak proposes would stage a coup d'etat. That's nonsense. The problem is that such an officer, in the policy-making councils of government, would immediately rival the Secretary of Defense in stature, dispute him in policy, and ultimately by virtue of his unopposed military authority and experience, overwhelm civilian policy direction both dovish and hawkish. This would be bad for military and civilian leaders, and worse for the nation.

Bad Medicine

It's surprising that Mr. Luttwak has only one solution to all problems. And given the soundness of many of his other opinions, it is also unfortunate that his idea is such a poor one. The Joint Chiefs of Staff system is not perfect, but decreasing the size of its staff, while listening carefully to operational commanders in the field, would prudently address the problems this book raises. Further actions could also be taken such as reemphasizing Secretary of Defense Thomas Gates's memorandum of 1959 that instructs the Joint Chiefs to inform the Secretary the moment they differed over an issue. If compromise is as much a liability as Mr. Luttwak argues, then the Secretary should always know the extent of such compromise.

The system in its current form fits our constitutional understanding of military and civilian authority, and is the repository of vast, broad, and useful military experience. Radical centralization is not the answer to the problems Mr. Luttwak identifies any more than a frontal lobotomy makes sense for a patient with ailments in his limbs. Learn from this book's diagnosis, but avoid its surgery. ☎

ArtTalk

The Democratic Muse: Visual Arts and the Public Interest, *by Edward C. Banfield (New York, Basic Books, Inc., $15.95).*

Reviewed by Cait Murphy

Edward C. Banfield, professor of government at Harvard University, has made a specialty of puncturing conventional wisdom. In his best-known book, *The Unheavenly City,* he challenged the idea of a worsening "urban crisis," showing that life in cities had been steadily improving for most people; and he deflated the nostrum that such ills as there were, were attributable to racism.

Now he has taken aim at the arts establishment. In *The Democratic Muse: Visual Arts and the Public Interest,* he not only questions the practice of government funding of art but attacks the premises on which it is based. He shoots down, one by one, the stock arguments that have justified federal arts spending, and takes a critical look at three major institutions of the arts establishment—the National Endowment for the Arts, the art museum, and the schools.

Direct federal spending on the arts began in the early days of the Great Society in 1965, when it was thought that with enough goodwill and money, government could achieve anything. Public interest in the arts was growing, as a more educated population sought new ways to enjoy its leisure, and government was urged to encourage this worthy activity. But the arguments for federal funding, says Mr. Banfield, were—and are—based on a misunderstanding of the proper role of government. They are also divorced from a proper appreciation of art itself.

Most of the claims made by advocates for a government arts agency were undebatable expressions of aspirations, not rational justifications for federal funding. "Official

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recognition" of the arts would "raise the image" of the United States, which would promote national prestige abroad and enhance international understanding. Indeed, Jacob Javits lectured the Senate, "the grandeur and dignity of our nation are at stake." Fellow New Yorker, Hugh Carey, then a congressman and later governor, took a different road, telling the House that the proposed National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) would stimulate "an outpouring of creativity" and "do far more than even the Civil Rights Act to bring them [the ghettoes] into the mainstream of American culture." Senator Hubert Humphrey, speaking for the arts mecca of Minnesota, said that federal funds were necessary to help museums and institutions to cope with the "culture boom." Cutting costs and raising prices, the usual way organizations cope with financial exigencies, was not considered a legitimate option. Perhaps the most popular argument was that government support of the arts was an investment in a growth industry, which would create jobs, promote tourism, and increase real estate values.

Guardian of the Aesthetic

The common defect of all these arguments, Mr. Banfield points out, is that they have nothing to do with art, which he defines rather ponderously as "that which has the capacity to engender in the receptive viewer an aesthetic experience." None of these arguments give even lip service to the aesthetic; instead, support for the arts was justified in terms of pork barrel politics and fuzzy egalitarian rhetoric. Relieving inner city tensions, for example, is an irreproachable goal, but it is not clear that art is the best way to achieve it.

Art is a good thing, but that does not mean government has a duty to pay for it—it is unwise to confuse an interest of the public with a public interest. Federal funding, in particular, cannot be said to benefit the public as a whole: attracting tourists to one city is luring them away from another. On the local level, where such expenditures would be paid for by the beneficiaries, the economic argument makes more sense, but local dollars might be better invested in, say, computers or plastics or baseball, all established industries of mass appeal.

Art is a good thing, but that does not mean government has a duty to pay for it. . . .

By redefining art in social terms, advocates of government funding convinced the government to assume a new responsibility. Mr. Banfield, defining art in aesthetic terms, wants to return art to the private sector, either by relying on indirect government aid through tax exemptions, or by eliminating all government subsidies—direct and indirect, local and national.

The system of indirect aid has been operating in this country for over a century and is still the largest single source of financial support for culture. Unfortunately, it necessitates a certain amount of bootlicking by organizations competing for private dollars, but indirect aid also discourages centralization of culture. The NEA, by contrast, says Mr. Banfield, encourages centralization and has created an array of special interest groups dependent on it for survival, as a way of extending its political reach.

Caveat Emptor

Eliminating all forms of government aid would allow the market to function free of the inhibiting effect of subsidies. Markets promote variety, efficiency, and responsiveness. Let the market decide the course of art and the livelihood of artists; let the market halt unpopular programs and stimulate new ones; let the market determine what museum admissions price the public will bear. Subsidies impede all these processes, though Mr. Banfield concedes that public patronage of museums might decline if prices rose and, initially at least, damage museums financially. He also concedes that charging a full admission would hurt the poor, but "few of the poor are disposed to visit art museums, and efforts to get them there by offering 'free days' have had little success." Despite these disadvantages, he insists that letting the market into the cloistered world of art, to whatever degree, will ultimately enrich art by releasing private energy and entrepreneurship. "Imagine," he writes, "a museum that, because it must live on its earnings, is constantly searching for ways to give viewers what they want to see." Besides, the issue of more limited public access is not that important because "visual art has never greatly affected American society" and "relatively few people respond aesthetically to art of high quality." These few would, presumably, be willing to pay dear for the pleasure.

One suspects that Mr. Banfield would be less opposed to government funding if it did it better. Instead, the NEA is notorious for funding absurd projects. Among this year's awards were a $10,000 grant to design a self-cleaning desk, $15,000 for research on the "effect proximity to windows has on the productivity and health of office workers" and over $30,000 to "determine the role architectural fixtures play in controlling how people use and experience open places." Even Michael Straight, former Deputy Chairman of the NEA, once said in exasperation, "the Endowment has, through its awards, funded activities I can only characterize as frivolous."

Other arts institutions are not much better. Museums promote public relations extravaganzas like the King Tut exhibition, which have almost nothing to do with aesthetics, but a lot to do with money, corporate sponsorship, publicity, and prestige. As "depositories of grandeur," they are removed from

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the world around them and have become mausoleums of dead art, not living witnesses to the aesthetic.

It is ironic that Mr. Banfield promotes the idea of the market as a way to make museums more responsive to public wishes, but is uncomfortable with the blockbuster shows which enjoy tremendous popular support. The problem with the blockbuster, he might respond, is that the museum is not promoting, nor is the public seeking, a genuine aesthetic experience. Perhaps not, but if it is extra-aesthetic values that draw the crowds to the museum, the market will probably encourage these values, not the aesthetic ones Mr. Banfield holds paramount, and which he says few people have.

Mr Banfield makes his case that American arts policy, especially on the national level, needs a general overhaul, but significant reform seems unlikely.

Some Modest Proposals

After painting this depressing picture of the visual arts scene, Mr. Banfield proposes two innovations.

First, he suggests that museums deemphasize fine art, and instead "turn art to the service of everyday life," to educate the public in the rudiments of good design. Such a reorientation, particularly in modern art museums, would enhance the museum experience, and create new forms of aesthetic response. What has happened, he complains, is that the division of fine art from applied art has overwhelmed the latter. Good design has come not to refer to an aesthetic fusion of form and function, but to an object that has the visual attributes of a work of art, whether it is functionally apt or not. For example, he cites an art critic who praised the design of a chair that was "rather uncomfortable" but "so handsome that it can be argued that [they] are worth having around just to look at."

Second, he suggests "the separation of aesthetic from other values (e.g. investment and antiquarian) by use of near-perfect copies of works of art." His economic arguments are compelling: by creating, in effect, two art markets—one for art as art, and the other for art as an investment or hobby—public agencies and museums, which presumably buy art only for its aesthetic value, would not have to compete with collectors and investors who force the price up. The supply of good art is limited, but the demand for it is great. Therefore, "From the public standpoint, it makes more sense to use tax dollars to *increase* the supply and *decrease* the price of art." Encouraging fine reproductions would allow small museums, public buildings, schools, and individuals to display more art at less cost with no sacrifice of aesthetic value.

On a small scale, Mr. Banfield's idea *can* work, as the success of the Rockefeller Collection (NRC) in New York has shown. Nelson Rockefeller launched the project in 1978, offering high quality reproductions of 96 works from his private collection. Art critics immediately attacked the venture as "haute schlock" and "ersatz art," but the Collection has prospered. The NRC now reproduces over 300 works, and has rights to other collections besides its own. The works, which include bronzes, porcelains, and paintings, are not cheap: the average price is around $1,000, and the 75 copies of Frederic Remington's "Coming through the Rye" cost $25,000 each. The high quality of the Rockefeller Collection seems to have earned it at least the grudging approval of some sectors of the arts establishment—corporations and museums have bought NRC reproductions—and public opinion has been favorable enough to justify expansion to Minneapolis, Palm Springs, and Bermuda. But the Rockefeller Collection is an exception, not the rule; museums and collectors are still devoted to originals as the only true art form, and even the finest reproductions do not have the investment value of the real thing. The extra-aesthetic values of art—cultural, historical, and social—are not easily separable from their aesthetic and financial ones, and there is little evidence that this is changing. Even Mr. Banfield seems resigned to this. "What would your wife say," he writes, "if you went home and told her you saw a woman who looks *just like* Elizabeth Taylor? Not what she'd say if you said you'd seen Elizabeth Taylor in person!"

Mr. Banfield makes his case that American arts policy, especially on the national level, needs a general overhaul, but significant reform seems unlikely. After taking a beating on his attempt to halve the NEA budget in 1982, President Reagan seems content to let it blunder along. The present chairman, Frank Hodsoll, has brought stricter management techniques, but no new philosophy to the agency. The Presidential Task Force on the Arts and Humanities, appointed by President Reagan in May 1981, on which Mr. Banfield served, commended the status quo without ever addressing two fundamental questions: what is art and why should government subsidize it? Mr. Banfield seems to have been a lone voice of unpopular dissent on the Task Force, as he is throughout *The Democratic Muse:* he is not going to make many converts with this book. Mr. Banfield's proposals must be taken seriously—they are the product of thoughtful analysis by an insightful thinker—but it is doubtful whether they will ever generate much popular support. Perhaps reproductions can engender the same aesthetic experience as the original, but the market for them is limited. A few corporations might display some fine reproductions, but who wants to go

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to a museum full of copies? And though freeing the market to work its wonders might make museums more responsive to the public, judging by the crowds, a lot of people like them the way they are.

By defining aesthetic response as the only proper reason to make, view, or study art, Mr. Banfield limits the role of art more narrowly than most artists, arts professionals, or members of the public would. For better or worse, people go to museums and study art for reasons other than aesthetic ones, and suggestions for reform must take this into account.

Whatever one thinks of his answers, Mr. Banfield has asked the right questions. The federal government has spent over a billion dollars on the arts in the last twenty years, and there is precious little to show for it. Second thoughts are due; a reckoning may be nigh. In *The Democratic Muse,* Mr. Banfield has set the terms for the coming debate.

War Games

Revising U.S. Military Strategy, *by Jeffrey Record (Washington: Pergamon Brassey, $16.95).*

Reviewed by
Mackubin Thomas Owens

In the absence of a clear-cut nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union, the Western alliance must rely more on conventional forces than it has in the past. But the decline of American economic power relative to its allies, and the increasing expense of conventional forces, makes it impossible—and unfair—for the United States to bear the burden alone. This is the starting point for *Revising U.S. Military Strategy* by Jeffrey Record, former national security adviser to Senator Sam Nunn and presently a senior fellow at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis.

The heart of Mr. Record's solution to this problem is a "transatlantic division of labor." In Mr. Record's scheme, the Europeans would exploit their geographical and logistical advantages by providing heavy formations to defend NATO's Central Front (the East German-West German border), while the United States would shift resources to naval and expeditionary forces to deal with contingencies outside of Europe.

Such a redistribution of burdens should not be construed as weakening the cohesion of the alliance, but as increasing its flexibility. Mr. Record is no isolationist: the question he asks is not *whether* to defend Europe, but *how best* to allocate our resources, especially in dealing with events outside of Europe which directly affect the affairs of Europe.

For example, a cutoff of oil from the Persian Gulf would primarily affect Europe because of its dependence on Mideast oil. Similarly, a Marxist victory in Central America would have severe consequences for European security by tying down American forces in the Western hemisphere. Only the United States has the ability to deal with these kinds of situations: therefore, NATO would be better served if the United States were free to deal with threats outside of Europe. From the practical point of view, writes Mr. Record, this means that the United States should emphasize strategic mobility over its present investment in heavy ground forces.

The Sea, the Sea

Though Mr. Record recognizes that Europe is central to the defense of the West and of the United States, he does not lose sight of the importance of maritime superiority, especially the ability to project naval power ashore. Maritime power, he argues, is the best way for the United States to defend Europe.

The reason is fairly simple. The United States depends essentially on an insular approach to grand strategy, much like 19th-century Great Britain. The British always feared the union of the two most powerful nations on the Eurasian landmass. Such a combination would have allowed a continental landpower to turn its attentions to the sea. The strategic imperative, therefore, was always to prevent a continental power from achieving dominance in Eurasia.

Maritime power . . . is the best way for the United States to defend Europe.

Since the end of World War II, America has assumed Britain's strategic mantle. It is now the strategic imperative of the United States to prevent the domination of Western Europe by the most powerful nation of Eurasia: the Soviet Union. While the Soviet Union may possess the classical landpower advantage, U.S. maritime superiority would force the Soviets to divert their resources away from Europe and allow the West to meet security needs in other regions.

Mr. Record also calls for a closer strategic relationship between the United States and China, primarily to contain the aggressive ambitions of the Soviets' main Asian ally, Vietnam; a more active exploitation of Soviet weaknesses; and a greater reliance on reserve forces by the Western alliance.

None of these ideas are new to Mr. Record—he has written extensively on various aspects of specific strategic issues. In *Revising U.S. Military Strategy,* he looks at the big picture, deriving doctrine, force structure, and operational art through a coherent strategic approach. It is an important, thoughtful addition to the literature of military reform.

MACKUBIN THOMAS OWENS *is national security adviser to Senator Robert Kasten.*

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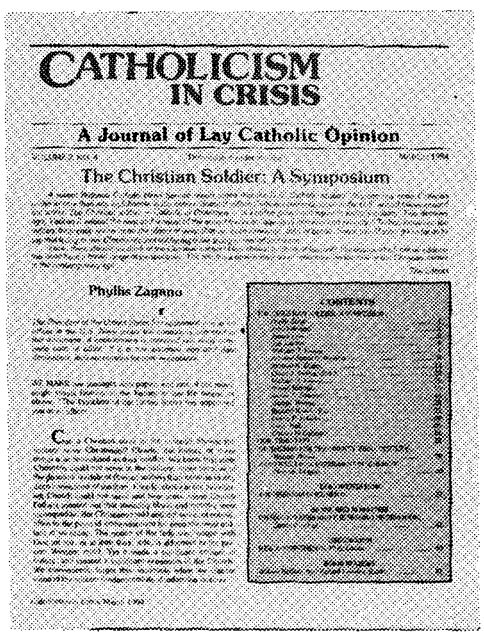
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The Lessons of Indochina

Ten years ago this spring, the dominoes fell in Indochina. On April 17, 1975, the Khmer Rouge captured Phnom Penh, Cambodia. On April 30, North Vietnamese tanks rolled into Saigon, in violation of the Paris peace agreements. On August 23, the Pathet Lao abandoned all pretense of coalition government, and seized total power in Laos. Communism had descended over all of Indochina.

At the time, many in the American press and Congress welcomed these Communist takeovers. They thought that the killing would stop when the United States ended military aid to the governments of Lon Nol and Nguyen Van Thieu. They disparaged predictions of a Marxist bloodbath. Some of them even thought that Communist governments would bring "greater welfare and security" to the Indochinese people.

One of the most important lessons of Indochina is that these views were wrong. There *was* a bloodbath, the most grisly genocide since Auschwitz and Treblinka: the Khmer Rouge systematically annihilated two to three million Cambodians, almost one-third of the population. The North Vietnamese sent 400,000 Southerners into a gulag of "re-education" camps, where over 100,000 remain. Over 1.6 million Indochinese fled their homes in fear and desperation.

Many of those quoted below blamed America for the tragic bloodshed in Indochina. But 12 years after American soldiers departed Indochina, there is still no peace. Vietnamese occupation troops battle Cambodian guerrillas, and Laotian planes torment Hmong tribesmen with excruciating yellow rain. Vietnam cannot feed its people, but its army is the fourth largest in the world.

On Cambodia:

Some will find the whole bloodbath debate unreal. What future possibility could be more terrible than the reality of what is happening to Cambodia now?

Anthony Lewis
"Avoiding A Bloodbath"
New York Times
March 17, 1975

It is hard to predict in an exact sense what would happen if the United States reduced its commitment to Lon Nol. . . . There is a possibility that more moderate politicians would take over in Phnom Penh, and that the insurgents would be content to negotiate with these people. An actual insurgent attack and takeover of Phnom Penh is far from a certainty, as an assault on a city requires large expenditures of resources which the Khmer Rouge would not be likely to want to make.

Michael Harrington
"Limiting Aid to Cambodia"
Congressional Record
August 12, 1974

If we really want to help the *people* of Cambodia and the *people* of South Vietnam, is it not wiser to end the killing? Since most credited analysts of foreign policy admit that the Lon Nol regime cannot survive, won't the granting of further aid only prolong the fighting and, with it, the killing?

Representative Bob Carr
Congressional Record
March 13, 1975

I say that calling the Lon Nol regime an ally is to debase the meaning of the word as it applies to our true allies. . . . The greatest gift our country can give to the Cambodian people is not guns but peace. And the best way to accomplish that goal is by ending military aid now.

Representative Chris Dodd
Congressional Record
March 12, 1975

It is time that we allow the peaceful people of Cambodia to rebuild their nation . . . (T)he Administration has warned that if we leave there will be a "bloodbath."

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But to warn of a new bloodbath is no justification for extending the current bloodbath.

Representative Tom Downey
Congressional Record
March 13, 1975

The dire warnings of a Cambodian "bloodbath" conveniently distract attention from the bloodbath now underway.

Senator Dick Clark
Congressional Record
March 17, 1975

. . . the evidence is that in Cambodia the much-heralded bloodbath that was supposed to follow the fall of Phnom Penh has not taken place. As for Vietnam, reports from Saigon indicate exemplary behavior, considering the situation. . . .

The most authoritative information thus far received leads to the conclusion that the American people were propagandized about the menace of unrestrained slaughter in Indochina. . . .

The revolutionaries in both countries seem to have acted responsibly, perhaps more so in Vietnam because their revolution is a mature one, its leaders seasoned by experience and historical perspective.

"Blood-Bath Talk"
The Nation, editorial
June 14, 1975

In sum, all of the evidence indicates that the decision to disperse the population of Phnom Penh and other cities to the countryside was grounded in urgent and practical considerations—and more than anything it was a question of feeding the population. . . .

For a study of the available evidence shows that the evacuation was ordered in response to certain urgent and fundamental needs of the Cambodian population, and that it was carried out only after careful planning for provision of food, water, rest, and medical care. . . .

The evacuation of Phnom Penh, so condemned by the U.S. government and media, undoubtedly saved the lives of tens of thousands of people. . . .

. . . the food problem in Cambodia has in fact been solved. . . .

. . . Despite U.S. predictions, Cambodia has not suffered mass starvation during the summer of 1975 and will not do so in 1976 either. . . .

Cambodia, then, has completed one of the most thorough-going agrarian revolutions in history, rebuilt much of the basic infrastructure necessary to a developing economy, and rather quickly resumed industrial production in the short period since the war's end.

Gareth Porter and G.C. Hildebrand
The Politics of Food: Starvation and Agricultural Revolution in Cambodia
Indochina Resource Center, Washington, D.C.
September 1975

On Vietnam:

The CBU-55 [cluster bomb] joins herbicides, defoliation, and napalm as part of the American Indochinese legacy. . . . Recognition of their massive deployment betrays the ugly hypocrisy behind the Kissinger-Ford pose of righteousness over real or fabricated reports of postwar Indochinese killings, so casually labeled "blood bath" and so directly a consequence of American policy and tactics.

"Blood Bath from the Skies"
The Nation, editorial
May 24, 1975

. . . for 25 . . . years our might has been deployed to frustrate an indigenous political and social revolution in Vietnam. . . .

But the excruciating agony suffered by Vietnam and Cambodia is largely of our making.

"On the Disaster"
The New Republic, editorial
May 3, 1975

Now, in contrast, the Communists are focusing primarily on the restoration of law and order and on providing such essentials as food, water, lodgings, and electricity, and, both their own propaganda and refugee accounts agree, they are relying on persuasive rather than coercive methods to attract popular sympathies. . . .

A few South Vietnamese police and army officers are said to have been publicly executed in Tuy Hoa, but the Communists generally appear at this stage to be working to win "hearts and minds." . . .

Although the Communists are closer to Saigon than they have ever been and can probably strangle the capital in the weeks ahead, my own guess is that they would opt for a negotiated end to the war if they could get it. . . .

Even so my own view is that they may be less drastic than their rhetoric indicates . . . Moreover they cannot massacre every Vietnamese with past American or Saigon regime connections unless they are prepared to liquidate a million people . . . But the Vietnamese face extraordinarily hard times ahead, and their only consolation may be that the rigor of life under Communism is preferable to a war that has meant death and destruction for so many years.

Stanley Karnow
"Avoiding Bloodshed in Saigon—Hanoi's Design"
The New Republic
April 26, 1975

We are the last who should speak of a bloodbath. Rarely has there been such an example of a moral disaster resulting from radically flawed political premises. . . .

In this respect Vietnam should teach us an important lesson. On the one hand Hanoi is one of several among the poorest nations in the world that have tried or will try to create a collectivist society, based on principles that

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are repugnant to us, yet likely to produce greater welfare and security for its people than any local alternative ever offered, at a cost in freedom that affects a small elite.

Stanley Hoffman
"The Sulking Giant"
The New Republic
May 3, 1975

But if a South Vietnamese surrender seems shocking, particularly to those who cannot accept the notion of Communists taking over a country, the alternatives could even be worse. One can contemplate, in a struggle to the finish, the sacrifice of thousands of innocent Vietnamese in a bloodbath far more devastating than the systematic crackdown against alleged "enemies of the people" that the Communists can be expected to carry on after they seize power. . . .

Perhaps one day in the future hawkish Republicans will return from visits to a Communist Vietnam to announce that, after all, the Vietnamese are better off than they were during the war that might have dragged on endlessly had the U.S. continued to assist the Saigon regime.

"Without Thieu"
The New Republic, editorial
April 19, 1975

A few "bloodbaths" would help their [right-wing politicians] public relations efforts, and they need not wait for verifiable instances: Ambassador Martin's comments and dispatches will suffice. A suggestion of what may be anticipated can be found in Ronald Reagan's demagogic statements of recent weeks.

"Vietnam in 1976"
The Nation, editorial
May 3, 1975

When the guns of the Vietnam War have at last fallen silent, the peace that follows will be a new and in many respects strange experience for a whole generation of Vietnamese.

Gerald Hickey
"Peace: A New Experience"
The New Republic
May 3, 1975

INDOCHINA WITHOUT AMERICANS
FOR MOST, A BETTER LIFE
New York Times headline
April 13, 1975

Adam Wolfson
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policy REVIEW

If the fetus is a developing human being—and what else can it possibly be?—then killing him or her is not essentially different from killing an infant. Indeed, the argument is not infrequently made by some pro-abortionists that "viability" does not begin until an infant is three or four years old, and before that age, the infant is a nonperson.

Nat Hentoff
Abortion And Infanticide: Is There A Difference?

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